Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-232
Tuesday
3 December 1991

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FBIS-SOV-91-232 *3 December 1991*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Arms Control & Disarmament

Disarmament Talks Resume in Geneva *[TASS]* 1
Arbatov Views Disarmament, Nuclear Weapons *[Moscow TV]* 1
Union Breakup Raises Nonproliferation Issue *[IZVESTIYA 27 Nov]* 3
U.S. Moves on Strategic Stability Urged *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28 Nov]* 5

Worldwide Issues

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gives News Briefing *[TASS]* 6
More Reportage on NATO Delegation's Visit 7
'Pleased' With Moscow Talks *[IZVESTIYA 29 Nov]* 7
'Warm Reception' Noted *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 29 Nov]* 7
NATO Official Urges 'Expanding Contacts' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 29 Nov]* 8
Western Aid Unlikely Until Problems Solved *[TASS]* 8
European Parliament Delegation Discusses Aid *[TASS]* 8
West's Reasons for Aid to USSR Examined *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Nov]* 9
'International Observers Roundtable' Program *[Moscow Radio]* 10
'Friendship Force' Expands Into Republics *[TASS]* 12

United States & Canada

Silayev on Signing of U.S. Food Aid Protocol *[TASS]* 12
Report on Shevardnadze, Brzezinski Talks *[INTERFAX]* 12
Brzezinski Interviewed on Future CIA Role *[Moscow TV]* 13
Baker To Discuss Ukraine in Moscow, Kiev *[Moscow TV]* 13
Commentary on U.S. Military Expenditures Plan *[Moscow International]* 13
Pentagon Aid Result of 'Elightened Interest' *[IZVESTIYA 2 Dec]* 14
CIA Defector Reportedly 'To Go Abroad' *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 29 Nov]* 14

China

PRC Border Talks View Reducing Forces *[TASS]* 15
Economic Cooperation With Taiwan Veiwed *[INTERFAX]* 15

Northeast Asia

Officials Comment on DPRK Border Treaty *[Moscow Radio]* 16
Denuclearization of Korean Peninsula Discussed *[Moscow International]* 17
DPRK Stance Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 2 Dec]* 17
North-South Korean Relations Viewed *[PRAVDA 26 Nov]* 18
Further Reportage on Kuril Islands Issue 19
UN Guardianship Petitioned *[INTERFAX]* 19
Committee Discusses Islands *[INTERFAX]* 19
Japan To Supply Aid *[TASS]* 19
Transportation Problems Noted *[TASS]* 19
Supreme Soviet Delegates in Tokyo for Meetings *[TASS]* 20

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Official Denies Pull Out From Cam Ranh Bay *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 3 Dec]* 20
Naval Officer Says Report False *[TASS]* 20

Near East & South Asia

Experts Deny Supplying Iraq With 93% Uranium *[INTERFAX]* 20
Further on Uranium Shipment to Sheremetyevo *[Russian TV]* 21
Official on Israeli Request for Talks Delay *[INTERFAX]* 21
Israeli Ambassador Supports 'Warm Relations' *[TASS]* 21
Shevardnadze, Iranian Minister Talks Detailed *[IZVESTIYA 27 Nov]* 22
Commentary on Talks With Iran's Velyati *[Moscow International]* 22
Afghan POW Releases Expected After New Year *[Russian TV]* 23
Release Depends on Hekmatyar *[INTERFAX]* 23
Commission for POW's in Afghanistan Planned *[INTERFAX]* 23
Iran Denies Holding, Release of Soviet POWs *[TASS]* 23
Commentary Views U.S. Campaign Against Libya *[Moscow International]* 24
Review of Relations With Libya Urged *[IZVESTIYA 30 Nov]* 24

Sub-Saharan Africa

Smirnov Views Restoration of RSA Relations *[Moscow Intenational]* 25
Commentary Views Diplomatic Ties With RSA *[Moscow International]* 25

West Europe

Gorbachev Receives Berlin Mayor Diepgen *[TASS]* 26
Shows 'Great Interest' *[Berlin ADN]* 26
France Cited on Nuclear Conference Proposal *[TASS]* 27
Roundtable Held on French Military Conversion *[INTERFAX]* 27
Further on Roundtable *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 29 Nov]* 27
KGB Offers Offices to Foreign Intelligence *[Berlin ADN]* 27
Security Service Denies Report *[TASS]* 28
Genscher Briefs Shevardnadze on EC, Ukraine *[TASS]* 28
Lobov Leads Military Delegation to UK *[Moscow Radio]* 28

Latin America & Caribbean

'No Concrete Results' in Talks With Cuba *[TASS]* 29
Ustinov Cited on Guantanamo *[INTERFAX]* 29
Koshkin Commentary on Withdrawal *[Moscow International]* 29
Ties With Cuba Viewed; Chernavin Cited *[Moscow International]* 29
Statement With U.S. Issued on El Salvador *[TASS]* 30
Chilean Envoy Comments on Honecker Reports *[INTERFAX]* 30
Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits Peru 30
Association Formed *[TASS]* 30
Ends Visit 29 Nov *[TASS]* 31

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Supreme Soviet

Gorbachev Issues Appeal on Union Treaty *[TASS]* 32
Alimzhanov Comments on Ukrainian Vote, Union *[Moscow Radio]* 32
Deputies Debate Emergency Budget *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 29 Nov]* 32

Political & Social

Gorbachev Discusses Elections, Democracy, Union 33
Congratulates Kravchuk, Nazarbayev *[TASS]* 33

'Foundation' of New Union *[Berlin ADN]* 33
'No Way Back' From Reforms *[TASS]* 33
Task 'To Advance Democratic Processes' *[TASS]* 34
Emphasizes Need To Keep Union *[IZVESTIYA 3 Dec]* 34
Democratic Reform Movement Discusses Events 35
Laptev Comments on Gorbachev *[Budapest MTI]* 35
To Adopt Political Declaration *[TASS]* 35
'Vital Need' for United Socialists, Communists *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 28 Nov]* 35
Further on Primakov 27 Nov News Conference 36
Surprise Attack Program Abolished *[IZVESTIYA 29 Nov]* 36
KGB Agents Abroad Discussed *[INTERFAX]* 37
Lists of KGB Agents 'Might Be Destroyed' *[Radio Rossii]* 37
Spokesman Says Shevardnadze To Meet Yeltsin *[INTERFAX]* 37
'Unsolved Problems' on Free Exit Viewed *[TASS]* 38
Agenda for Community Leaders' Meeting Reported *[TASS]* 38
Aug Coup Leaders Still Awaiting Trial 38
Three Face New Charges *[TASS]* 38
Investigator on Progress *[Moscow Radio]* 38
Protesters Disrupt Hanukkah Celebrations *[TASS]* 39
TASS Carries Press Review for 3 Dec 40

Economic

Economic Committee Chairman Silayev Remarks 41
Treaty, Debt Share Discussed *[INTERFAX]* 41
Views Budget Situation *[Moscow Radio]* 41
Debts 'Should Be Shared' *[TASS]* 41
Notes U.S. Support *[Moscow TV]* 42
Customs Committee Draws Up New Regulations *[INTERFAX]* 42
Article Views Sugar, Meat, Milk Imports *[INTERFAX]* 43

Military

Defense Spokesman on Interrepublican Talks *[Moscow TV]* 44
General Lobov Interviewed on Military Policy *[Moscow Radio]* 46
Ground Forces Chief of Staff Interviewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28 Nov]* 47
Armed Forces Structure, Staffing Confirmed 49
Appointments Discussed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28 Nov]* 49
Stolyarov Named as Aide *[TASS]* 49
Republics' Own Forces Unopposed *[INTERFAX]* 50
Reform, Defense Budget Discussed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 3 Dec]* 50
Ministry Details Spending on Arms, Equipment *[POSTFACTUM]* 51
Divisions Unable To Conduct Tactical Training *[POSTFACTUM]* 52
Bid To Be Announced for Troop Apartments *[INTERFAX]* 52

BALTIC COUNTRIES

Baltic Affairs

'Two Years' Needed for Troop Withdrawal *[TASS]* 53
Republics To Increase Fuel Prices 1 Dec *[BALTFAX]* 53

Estonia

Deputy Reports on Soviet Troop Withdrawal *[BALTFAX]* 53
Government 'May Recognize' Ukraine Independence *[BALTFAX]* 53
Counterintelligence Official on Cooperation *[BALTFAX]* 53
Budget Provides Defense Ministry Funding *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 26 Nov]* 54
Seminar Opens on National Security Structure *[BALTFAX]* 54
Minister Fears Coup, Appeals for Defense Aid *[Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET 1 Dec]* 54
Ministry Denies Charges of Nazi Rallies *[BALTFAX]* 55

Economic Minister Views 1992 Monetary Reform *[BALTFAX]* 55
Sale of Enterprises to Foreigners Approved *[BALTFAX]* 55
Minister on Marketing Difficulties *[BALTFAX]* 56

Latvia

Defense Adviser on Soviet Troop Withdrawal *[BALTFAX]* 56
New Minister on Republic's 'Defense Concept' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Nov]* 56
Yakovlev Not To Lead USSR Delegation Talks *[Riga International]* 57
Official Cited on Position Toward Ukraine *[Riga Radio]* 57
Foreign Minister on Anti-Semitism *[Riga Radio]* 58

Lithuania

Russian Treaty Ratification Expected Mid-Dec *[BALTFAX]* 58
Minister on Trade With Russia at World Prices *[BALTFAX]* 58
Republic Solicits Japanese Investment *[IZVESTIYA 28 Nov]* 58
Minister on Interstate Agreement With Japan *[Vilnius Radio]* 59
Chairman Opposes Referendum on Citizenship *[BALTFAX]* 59
Letter Sent on Swedish Allegations of Nazism *[Vilnius Radio]* 59
Rifle Fire Reported at Vilnius Military Base *[BALTFAX]* 60
Further on Shooting *[Vilnius Radio]* 60
Minister Says Situation in Republic 'Ominous' *[Vilnius Radio]* 60
Prunskiene Comments on Landsbergis Policy *[Vilnius Radio]* 61
Official in Moscow Says Coup 'Not Possible' *[Vilnius Radio]* 61
Democratic Leader Discusses Political 'Unrest' *[BALTFAX]* 61
Existence of Lithuanian 'Underground' Eyed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 29 Nov]* 61
Five Newspapers Begin 'Warning Strike' *[Vilnius Radio]* 62
'Intrigues' of KGB Agents Said To Continue *[BALTFAX]* 62
Subsidies Boosted To Meet Price Increase *[Moscow Radio]* 62

RSFSR

Interrepublic Affairs

Officials Comment on Ukrainian Independence 63
Yeltsin Recognizes Independence *[Russian TV]* 63
Kozyrev Congratulates Zlenko *[TASS]* 63
Silayev on 'Foreign State' *[TASS]* 63
Further on Silayev's Comments *[INTERFAX]* 63

Supreme Soviet

Chairman Khasbulatov Interviewed on Reform *[Russian TV]* 64
Draft Law on Mass Media Adopted 27 Nov *[Radio Rossii]* 65
Resolution on Banking System Issues Adopted *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 29 Nov]* 65
Supreme Soviet 'Conflict' With Executive Denied *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 30 Nov]* 65
Commission To Check Deputy's KGB Admission *[POSTFACTUM]* 66
Presidium Holds 'Routine' Meeting 2 Dec *[Moscow Radio]* 67
Agrees To Pay Union Debt *[INTERFAX]* 67
Supports Delaying Minimum Wage Hike *[Russian TV]* 67
Drafts Agreement With Armenia *[INTERFAX]* 67

International Affairs

Foreign Minister Returns From Canada, U.S. 67
Comments on Canadian Visit *[TASS]* 67
Further on Kozyrev's Comments *[TASS]* 68
Kozyrev Meets Former Japanese Foreign Minister *[Russian TV]* 69
Kozyrev on Vatican Trip, Western Relations *[TRUD 16 Nov]* 69
Fedorov Denies Claims on Handing Over Islands *[TASS]* 70

Comments on Possible Unrest *[TASS]* 70
Parliamentary Delegation Visits Germany *[TASS]* 71
Parliamentarians Meet Europarliament Delegation *[TASS]* 71

Local Affairs

Checheno-Ingushetia Votes for Independent State *[TASS]* 72
North Ossetia Fails To Recognize Ingush Vote *[INTERFAX]* 72
Chechen Leaders Strengthen National Guard *[INTERFAX]* 72
Moscow City Council Wants Privatization Delay *[Moscow Radio]* 72
Apartment Privatization Begins *[Moscow Radio]* 72

WESTERN REPUBLICS

Belorussia

Foreign Debt Statistic Reported *[POSTFACTUM]* 73
Safeguards Sought Over Chernobyl 'Danger' *[IZVESTIYA 27 Nov]* 73

Moldova

Republic To Annul Dnestr, Gagauzia Elections *[TASS]* 73
Talks With Dnestr Left Bank Fail *[INTERFAX]* 73
Statement Issued on Moves To Divide Republic *[TASS]* 74
President Reiterates Independence Policy *[TASS]* 74
Opposition Rally Urges Merger With Romania *[TASS]* 74
Speakers Call For Unification *[Bucharest ROMPRES]* 74
Council for Romanian Reunification Established *[Bucharest ROMPRES]* 75
Security Minister Warns of Disturbances *[INTERFAX]* 75
Prime Minister on Gold Reserves Announcement *[INTERFAX]* 75

Ukraine

Preliminary Referendum Data Reported *[POSTFACTUM]* 75
Electoral Chairman on Results *[Kiev Radio]* 76
Referendum Not 'Smooth' in Crimea *[Kiev Radio]* 76
Kravchuk Speaks on Results, Defense Policy *[INTERFAX]* 77
On Crimea, Russia *[Kiev Radio]* 77
On New Elections, Nuclear Weapons *[Radio Rossii]* 78
Comments on Yeltsin Remarks *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 3 Dec]* 78
Commentary Cites Kravchuk on Future Plans *[Moscow International]* 79
U.S. Announcement on Recognition Reported *[TASS]* 79
Independence Implications for UN, U.S. Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 2 Dec]* 79
Canadian Government Recognizes Independence *[TASS]* 80
Polish Government Recognizes Independence *[TASS]* 81
Foreign Commission Chief on Independence *[Berlin Radio]* 81
Bomb Found in Kiev Synagogue *[Kiev Radio]* 82

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Poland Sends Congratulations on New Independence *[ARMENPRES]* 83
France's Mitterrand Congratulates President *[Yerevan Radio]* 83
President Says Azerbaijan Talks 'To Resume' *[IZVESTIYA 29 Nov]* 83
'Apparent Start' of Train Traffic Noted *[Moscow Radio]* 83

Azerbaijan

National Council Passes Border Protection Law *[Yerevan International]* 84
Shooting Near Stepanakert; 1 Armenian Killed *[INTERFAX]* 84
Village 'Badly Hit'; Shusha Skirmishes Noted *[TASS]* 84
Iranian Foreign Minister, Delegation Arrive *[Tehran Radio]* 84
Meets With Mutalibov *[Tehran Radio]* 84

Georgia

Procurator General Released From Duties *[Moscow TV]* 84
New Procurator General Named *[SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA 22 Nov]* 85
Military Assets, Soviet Armed Forces Protected *[TASS]* 85
Gamsakhurdia Says No Surrender of Land *[INTERFAX]* 85
'Rebellious Guards' Side With Government *[INTERFAX]* 85
Parliament Debates Illegal Armed Formations *[Moscow Radio]* 85
Military Official Discusses Internal Troops *[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 12 Nov]* 85
Officers Warned Against 'Confrontation' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Nov]* 87

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Reaffirms View on Nuclear Forces *[PRAVDA 27 Nov]* 89
Further on Nazarbayev's Presidential Election 89
Commission Reports Outcome *[Alma-Ata Radio]* 89
Nazarbayev on 'Vote of Confidence' *[IZVESTIYA 3 Dec]* 89
Further on Remarks *[TASS]* 90
Asanbayev Becomes Vice President *[Moscow Radio]* 90
Bolsheviks Oppose Presidency *[ROSSISKAYA GAZETA 28 Nov]* 90
'Mutual Understanding' Accord Signed With Iran *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Nov]* 90

Arms Control & Disarmament

Disarmament Talks Resume in Geneva

LD0212194191 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Geneva December 2 TASS—The 12th session of the U.S.-Soviet special control commission set up under the U.S.-Soviet treaty on the elimination of short- and medium-range missiles opened in Geneva on Monday.

The Soviet and U.S. experts will focus on the implementation of the treaty and hold discussions with the joint commission on inspections set up in accordance with Article 15 of the U.S.-Soviet START treaty.

The sides will also discuss other issues pertaining to both treaties.

Arbatov Views Disarmament, Nuclear Weapons

LD0112215191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2110 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Question and answer session with Aleksey Georgiyevich Arbatov, "specialist" on problems of disarmament and nuclear armaments, with studio audience on 29 November; moderated by unidentified correspondent; from the "VID" program—live]

[Excerpts] In our studio today is Aleksey Georgiyevich Arbatov, one of the country's leading specialists on problems of disarmament and nuclear armaments.

[Correspondent] Aleksey Georgiyevich, our first question.

[Woman] What at the present moment is the percentage ratio of nuclear armaments in the republics?

[Arbatov] Well, approximately 75 percent on the territory of Russia, 15 percent on the territory of the Ukraine, about 8 percent on the territory of Kazakhstan, less than that in Belorussia—in the majority of the republics it is 1 percent or less. In some of them there are none at all.

[Man] In which ones specifically are there none at all?

[Arbatov] Well, the information available, including official information, that all nuclear weapons have been withdrawn from the Baltic republics and the same applies to Azerbaijan and Armenia. As far as Georgia and Moldova are concerned, nobody seems to understand our military people with regard to whether they have been withdrawn or not—there is various conflicting information about that.

[Correspondent] I just love that phrase—the information available—regarding nuclear weapons. Have they been withdrawn from the Baltic region or not?

[Arbatov] They say they have been withdrawn.

[Correspondent] Who says so?

[Arbatov] The Ministry of Defense.

[Woman] Could you answer this: Who currently has the right to issue the order to press the button?

[Arbatov] Well, presently it is the president of the country who has this right, in agreement with the minister of defense and the chief of the general staff. In other words, these three have the key, or, if you like, the button. None of these by himself can press it. They can only do this together, the three of them.

[Woman] Aleksey Georgiyevich, please tell us, how much do nuclear weapons cost every year ?

[Arbatov] Well, roughly I would say that it is probably about 40 percent of our military budget. Our military budget last year was 100 billion rubles [R], so that would be R40 billion.

[Correspondent] How much does one missile cost?

[Arbatov] There are many different missiles. If you are talking about an intercontinental strategic missile, then, including its nuclear warheads, it could cost something on the order of R30-40 million. These figures in short reflect only very remotely the real expenditure of labor, resources, and energy which are spent for military purposes. [passage omitted]

[Man] Tell us, please, do any statistics exist about radiation sickness incurred by those who service nuclear missiles ?

[Arbatov] No.

[Correspondent] In other words, no one has ever reckoned how many people die from radiation sickness among those people who work with nuclear weapons?

[Arbatov] I believe that in some instances, when new experiments were being carried out, these observations were conducted and they were kept strictly secret, but, on the whole, of course, no record was made of them.

[Man] Aleksey Georgiyevich, Kazakhstan has announced a ban on nuclear tests on its territory. Following the Greenpeace raid on Novaya Zemlya, the protests against tests in this area are also widening. Where is it planned to hold nuclear tests in the future?

[Correspondent] Is it necessary to carry out nuclear tests in general?

[Arbatov] I think that without any threat to our security we need not carry out nuclear tests for a minimum of five or perhaps 10 years. I doubt whether we can halt them altogether for evermore in conditions where other countries are continuing these tests. However, tests are continuing because these mechanisms have been started and it is very difficult to halt them.

[Correspondent] What do you think—will anyone listen to what you are saying right now and halt their nuclear tests after what you have said?

[Arbatov] Well, you know that the Soviet Union has suspended nuclear tests for one year. As to whether a decision will be adopted in the Soviet Union to suspend these tests for a longer period after what I have just said, I am perfectly sure that it will not be.

[Woman] The policy of disarmament has also led to a situation whereby the first people to leave the country are the nuclear physicists. The danger of a drain of our intellectuals in this direction is clear. Is there anything that can be done about this?

[Arbatov] Of course there is. We must create attractive work for those nuclear physicists within the country. If you are telling me that this sphere is no longer so important and that our security is now tied with other questions, I think that they will move over to those spheres if they can be guaranteed decent enough conditions.

[Correspondent] A question about the specialists. Were the fathers of the nuclear bomb, on the whole, in our country? Or did they steal this bomb?

[Arbatov] Of course they were. Nuclear, and especially thermo-nuclear.

[Correspondent] In other words, it was our own invention and we can be proud of it ?

[Arbatov] Well, the question of whether we can be proud of the fact that we were the creator of mass destruction weapons is very complex. However, as to whether they were created in our country, that is indeed the case.

[Correspondent] What do you think, will we soon be speaking about a nuclear parity, for example, between Moldova and Kyrgyzstan?

[Arbatov] Between Moldova no, because all nuclear weapons have been withdrawn from there by all accounts. But if they became enemies and they allocated sufficiently large resources for the purposes of military confrontation, then they could at some time, within a certain number of years, create nuclear weapons—one against the other. There is no doubt about that.

[Correspondent] Surely someone can say something precisely about nuclear weapons, where they are, how many there are, and so on?

[Arbatov] Well, as far as strategic armaments are concerned, we can speak with a very great degree of authenticity; as far as tactical nuclear weapons, we have only very obscure statements. The old system is in operation.

[Woman] One bone of contention is the nuclear potential between the republics. At what variant of division [variant razdela] is it possible to stop today?

[Arbatov] I think that it is not possible to stop at any variant of division of nuclear weapons. They cannot be divided—not for technical, not for strategic, and not for political reasons. In the technical aspect there is a very strict system of monitoring and blocking, in other words, even if you physically take nuclear weapons, if you capture them, you cannot blow them up; you can destroy and pollute the surrounding several square meters with the fission material. You will never be able to blow them up. As far as the political aspect is concerned, there is the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, which was signed by the Soviet Union when ours was a unified state. In accordance with this treaty, we do not have the right to pass nuclear weapons on to anyone.

[Man] Will it be possible to speak in any way about the might of our country if control over nuclear weapons is dispersed throughout all the republics?

[Arbatov] Well, as far as might is concerned, our explosive might will remain the same. However, one cannot speak about any kind of true administration and control over nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons are the kind of thing which are either controlled centrally or are not controlled by anyone. I repeat that this question generally should remain on the agenda. I would like to take you back to how this whole problem began; you know, events happen so quickly in our country that we often forget even about what happened six months ago. Well, six months ago, no other than the central government, in the person of its supreme leaders, adopted this stance: no republic should secede from the Soviet Union, otherwise central control over nuclear weapons will collapse. You see? In other words no other than the central leadership was the first to use this nuclear weapons factor as a bugbear to counteract the disintegratory tendencies in the country. Instead of this, from the very outset it was necessary to pose the question in a different way. I would even have used such a strong expression as to irresponsibly use nuclear weapons for domestic political purposes. That is how it was.

[Correspondent] Please tell us, could the center, given this general system of all the nuclear armaments on our territory, explode missiles on any of the free republics, either directly in the silos or on the surface where they are deployed?

[Arbatov] Of course it is possible to blow up the missiles.

[Correspondent] So that means the center virtually acquires a lever by which it can hold several republics under its subordination and dictate to it its conditions, say, the degree of the explosion of missiles on its territory?

[Arbatov] Hypothetically, yes. Yes, it is possible. But blowing up a missile does not mean blowing up the warhead. There have been accidents where a missile has blown up in a silo—this happened with the Americans—and the warheads did not even explode. They are very durable things, they are designed to withstand huge loads and terrific burning when they enter the atmosphere. It is not easy to blow them up. So a nuclear explosion would not occur simply by blowing up a missile; it may just disintegrate. But we are of course carrying out tests on

explosions in Kazakhstan. Or rather, we had been until recently. So any kind of weapon could be exploded.

[Correspondent] No, what I mean is the warhead. Can we carry out a nuclear explosion by sitting here in Moscow and pressing a button and over in Kazakhstan a missile is exploded?

[Arbatov] No, we cannot.

[Correspondent] Do you rule out the possibility that nuclear weapons might become the prey of armed groupings, let us say—I don't know—the (Vukhabiti), Azerbaijani guerillas, or Armenian, whoever you like ?

[Arbatov] There have been unconfirmed reports in the press that an attempt to capture a depot with tactical nuclear warheads was undertaken in Azerbaijan. It was repelled. A great number of tactical nuclear weapons could be made unusable simply by dialing a certain code. Such a blocking system exists on the latest ones, so that if a code is incorrectly dialed it is simply switched off, then it is dismantled back at the factory and then reassembled. You see? Others could be taken out under supervision, and others could simply be destroyed. We have accumulated such a quantity which can in no way be justified, and in this sphere, too. So these measures need to be taken but they have not been. Now we are up against problems. Theoretically this could occur, but this does not mean anyone who—I repeat—captures a nuclear projectile, or a bomb, or the warhead of a tactical missile, or a fougasse [landmine], that they can blow it up. No, he will not be able to blow it up.

[Correspondent] Not by himself.

[Arbatov] Not by himself, but dismantling—having, so to speak, died in the process from radiation—dismantling is possible, and using such fissionable material in order to create such a crude very primitive explosive device is also possible if you put in sufficient resources, acquire the specialists, and set up a laboratory, then this can be done.

[Correspondent] Tell us, please, could a professional, a specialist, in domestic conditions with the means at his disposal, assemble an atomic bomb?

[Arbatov] No.

[Correspondent] Never?

[Arbatov] Never.

[Correspondent] Unfortunately the time for today's discussion has come to an end, and we thank today's guest.

[Arbatov] Thank you for your questions. [applause from audience]

Union Breakup Raises Nonproliferation Issue

PM0212105591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 91 Union Edition p 6

[Vitaliy Kobysh "Political Observer's Viewpoint" commentary: "Soviet Threat? Yes, But Now Without Quotation Marks"]

[Text] A slight warming has begun in the international situation. Expressions soothing to the ear have come into use—"the end of the cold war," "the disarmament race," "together toward a lasting peace," and so on.

These are not empty slogans. They are all true, but only partly true. In the opinion of specialists, the "disarmament race" concerns obsolete types of weapons, and the latest, "smart" weapons are not being cut; on the contrary, development of them is being stepped up. So, without doubting the readiness and desire primarily of our country—now a Union of Sovereign States—and the United States to move toward a lasting peace, you cannot help wondering: Is the military threat actually receding and can we finally relax a bit and get down to more urgent and expedient matters?

The last thing I would want to do is to alarm my fellow countrymen as they battle against all kinds of difficulties which have now become unbearable. But at the same time it is impermissible for illusions, which, as is well known, give rise to deep disillusionment or else break people's hearts, to lead to a great and irretrievable calamity.

Thirty years ago John Kennedy predicted that by 1970 10 countries and by 1975 possibly 15-20 countries would have the potential to produce nuclear weapons. He was probably exaggerating somewhat, but specialists would probably prefer to state that the exaggeration was slight.

The Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, signed in 1968, has undoubtedly not only played its own beneficial role but continues to play it today. But the truth is that it has not been an insurmountable obstacle to states desperate to possess lethal weapons. For many of them it is not so much a technological as a political and financial problem. This is not an invention on my part: In this world everything or nearly everything is bought and sold. And, despite the desperate efforts, primarily of our country and the United States, to check the process of the spread of nuclear weapons, some people have, without great publicity, sold uranium and other components as well as delivery vehicles, while others have bought them lock, stock, and barrel.

Now about the most dangerous thing, if not the most tragic.

The recent exchange of "courtesies" between Russian and Ukrainian officials—utterly staggering in its unexpected absurdity—about the possibility of delivering nuclear strikes against each other, irrespective of the question of who was the first to say "but" and whether

this "but" was uttered at all seriously, has given rise to at least three exceptionally important new problems.

First. It has become clear that, although the lion's share of nuclear weapons and delivery systems is located on RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] territory, another three republics among the Union members should now be regarded as nuclear states. "A nuclear potential, 20 percent of which is concentrated in the Ukraine, is, apart from everything else, also a great asset and possession for a sovereign state. I would be in no hurry to give it up. But we will see later what to do with it," Ukrainian presidential contender L. Lukyanenko states.

Second. Insufficiently clear and often simply contradictory official statements are prompting many people to ask a legitimate question. In the former Soviet Union is there a reliable mechanism for control over these weapons of mass destruction? In other words, does a single person invested with supreme authority continue to have his finger on the most sinister button?

Let us be frank. Top Soviet leaders' assurances that nothing has changed in this context and therefore there is nothing to fear do not convince everybody. "USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has lost control of nuclear weapons," the German newspaper BILD AM SONNTAG claims. In an interview with that newspaper CDU defense expert Bernd Wilz, referring to his recent conversations in Moscow, stated that presently in the USSR control by the center over nuclear weapons is possible only on the basis of consultations with the republics' leaderships. Hans Stercken (CDU), chairman of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Commission, believes that these republics are trying to use the nuclear weapons on their territory as a means of exerting pressure, and also to demonstrate their independence and sovereignty.

You might suppose that Germany's attitude to this problem was especially sensitive. But it emerges that no, Germany is not alone in this. "Leading military and political strategists share the fear of instability in a disintegrating state that has a complement of 27,000 nuclear weapons.... The uncertainty arising should the Soviet Union disintegrate is at least one of the reasons why Britain and France have decided to continue to modernize their nuclear submarines and tactical nuclear weapons. Working out scenarios for action in connection with the new uncertainty is a task that NATO is getting down to solving," ABC Television explains. "The fact that Boris Yeltsin has a black attache case with him day and night is evidence that there are now two fingers on the Soviet nuclear button," London's THE INDEPENDENT reports in turn. The attache case, which a serviceman carries for him, contains nuclear codes, as does Mikhail Gorbachev's similar attache case. Whether both leaders retain the same degree of control over the Soviet nuclear arsenal remains unclear." And although the Russian president's apparatus denied the INDEPENDENT report, this information flashed around the world. Some people believed the denial and some did not.

Third. The new situation in our country has aroused just as much fear regarding tactical nuclear weapons and so-called "conventional" weapons, some types of which approach nuclear weapons in their killing power. To what extent is this arsenal controlled? Isn't there a danger that both irresponsible, ambitious governments and terrorists, the mafia, and so on will gain access to it? Many people both here and abroad are concerned, not without reason, that what is being introduced on the former USSR's territory is a market mentality which is extremely simple as far as some people are concerned. If everything can be traded and the main thing is profit, then why make money out of weapons?

A very serious situation is developing. I realized just how serious after talking with a man to whom until quite recently you could not gain access.

For 10 years Vladimir Ivanovich Sementsov headed the USSR Ministry of the Economy and Forecasting Export Control Department. A former department. A former ministry. But he himself is far from washed-up, but is a specialist acting with his former energy and possessing unique experience and knowledge. For 10 years the subdivision he headed conscientiously and extremely efficiently saw to it that no raw materials, equipment, or technology needed for creating nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction left the country. "We worked according to a plan and methodology that enabled us to exercise complete control," Vladimir Ivanovich says. "The work went quite smoothly because we knew that nobody except the Ministry of Foreign Trade had the right to export these products. Now that all enterprises have received the right to carry out export-import transactions, the question has arisen of how to organize control to ensure that new technologies associated with the production of weapons of mass destruction do not become the subject of thoughtless, unprincipled trade."

For my part I will note in passing that in the countries which we now customarily call civilized, tough and sometimes draconian state control has been established over such deals. When it is violated (for instance, the recent disclosures concerning deliveries from Germany to Saddam Husayn of components needed to create nuclear weapons), it becomes a subject for judicial investigation.

This April the USSR president issued a decree approving a system of control over the export of raw materials, equipment, and technology used in the creation of weapons, and also of products for peaceful purposes which could be utilized to create nuclear, missile, chemical, and other types of weapons of mass destruction.

It was a necessary and timely decree. The problem with it, as with many other necessary decrees, is that essentially it has remained on paper. For various reasons.

Including the fact that there is nobody to implement it. After the August putsch all control structures vanished into oblivion. Now something like a commission for state export control is being recreated.

Now for the most important thing. If you bear in mind that, not to mince words, a civil war is going on in a number of regions of the former Soviet Union, the problem of "nonproliferation" is just as important for us from the domestic viewpoint as it is in the international context, or even more important. And we are not the only ones gripped by fear. I get no pleasure from saying this, but we now look much more dangerous to the international community than, say, Saddam Husayn. However, the comparison is more emotional than factual. But the crux of the matter is that the processes taking place in our country threaten the peace and security of all mankind. This is when every reason emerged to talk of a Soviet threat. It is rather terrifying that people abroad see this more precisely and clearly than some of our local Bonapartes, who have been blinded by the power they have usurped and their largely illusory television fame.

Of course, it is easier to note all this than to answer the $64,000 question: What is to be done?

I will not pronounce on things which require a collective answer, moreover an answer that takes into account all features of a rapidly changing life. Regarding the Soviet Union (alias the Union of Sovereign States), it tried to avert the looming tragedy. Unfortunately, much of what had been done was nullified by the aforementioned events that have developed in various regions of the country. You might say: People are losing heart. We have no right to say that, because it is a matter of life and death for both present and future generations.

People have not lost heart. Much is being done. Let us start with the fact that, on the initiative of around two dozen different Soviet organizations united around and inspired by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs (now the USSR Ministry of External Relations), an association in support of the nonproliferation of various types of weapons, chiefly weapons of mass destruction, has just been set up. A conference-symposium at which preference was given not to incantations but to specific proposals was recently held in Moscow.

Here are some of them.

To bring to the attention of deputies of the USSR and republic Supreme Soviets a fact which is unusual at first glance but an actual fact nonetheless: The problem with the nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction has now come to the very forefront of international affairs.

To discuss the consequences ensuing from this during consideration and ratification of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty.

To propose the start of special hearings in foreign affairs commissions and in other commissions involved in these problems.

On the basis of the Chernobyl experience, to raise the question of the strictest control over nuclear materials.

To tighten export-import controls concerning these materials and also finished products and technology. In this connection to elaborate precise legislation, which we completely lack at the moment. For example, in England publication of the articles of this legislation required a 500-page volume.

On the basis that the International Atomic Energy Agency is concerned with narrower technical problems, to study the idea of setting up a Nonproliferation Committee under the UN Security Council.

Possibly to agree on holding appropriate international inspections on the ex-USSR's territory.

Many other proposals were made. If approved, all of them could become an addition to the Nonproliferation Treaty.

Mankind once again faces a critical challenge. When I think how on earth to cope with the challenge, which threatens everybody equally, I recall the maxim formulated by wise ancient Roman lawyers: "Nobody should profit by another's foolishness."

U.S. Moves on Strategic Stability Urged

PM2911164991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[V. Yakimenko commentary: "On Strategic Stability and Attendant Falsehoods"]

[Text] Strategic stability is an extremely complex military-political term. It includes the most varied factors which, when combined, ensure a peaceful life on our planet. It is an exceptionally complex task to describe and coordinate these factors. At the same time it must be noted that in the past few years the concept has formed that stability will be guaranteed in the military sphere if deterrence is ensured, that is, if a situation is created whereby neither of the sides can count on striking the other side with impunity and without receiving a reciprocal strike of the appropriate strength.

Last year, the sides agreed at top level the basic and most obvious tasks involved in increasing strategic stability between themselves, which are to be realized following the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Weapons. What is primarily meant here is the further reduction of strategic weapons and a decrease in the concentration of nuclear charges on strategic delivery systems.

Whereas everything is apparently clear regarding the reduction of strategic weapons, the expediency of decreasing the concentration of nuclear charges requires

clarification. Such a reduction (to one charge if possible) of the number of nuclear charges concentrated in one place should prevent the other side from counting on being able to destroy several of the other side's charges with just one of its own charges. Consequently the more charges of this type are concentrated in one place, the greater the instability of the situation.

Furthermore, it was decided, with the aim of increasing strategic stability, to give preference to systems possessing an enhanced survivability (these are the very systems that ensure guaranteed deterrence: It is believed that the most obvious method of ensuring deterrence is by giving strategic weapons the necessary mobility) and also to ensure a great measure of openness and availability of information about the sides military organizational development and military intentions.

What is the situation in this sphere today? According to data in the treaty, the USSR's overall number of nuclear charges for strategic offensive weapons is 10,271 and United States' is 10,563. As far as the concentration of nuclear charges on one delivery system is concerned, (the overall number of nuclear charges divided by the number of existing strategic delivery systems) the USSR has 4.1 charges for every delivery system and the United States has 4.7 charges per delivery system. Only the USSR has mobile ICBM launchers (23 percent of the total number of ICBM launchers) The United States does not have any mobile launchers like this.

Nowadays you can sometimes come across the following formulation of the question (and not just in the West): The United States is apparently disarming rapidly, whereas we, despite all our difficulties, are not. But what is happening in reality?

The prospects for our military organizational development in the sphere of strategic forces are now strictly regulated by the treaty, not just regarding quantity, but also quality: New types of strategic offensive weapons are banned, and the modernization of certain types of ICBM's and other missiles is restricted, which will make it possible to determine quite clearly the structure of forces that will form after the treaty is implemented. Furthermore, the country's economic difficulties are in practical terms preventing us from counting on the possibility of exchanging existing types of weapons for new ones unless the United States pushes us into such an extreme situation by their actions, for example, by creating and deploying antiballistic missile defense systems. Further reductions, in accordance with the USSR president's initiative, of the overall level of charges to 5,000 units instead of 6,000 as is stipulated by the treaty, was backed by concrete proposals on the removal of 503 ICBM's of certain types from alert status. Thus, three types of ICBM's which are deployed at present will be completely removed from the USSR's strategic forces: RS-10 (SS-11), RS-12 (SS-13), and RS-16 (SS-17).

In this respect the United States' intentions, despite all the noisy statements, look rather vague. The U.S. President's statement on the removal from alert status of "Minuteman-2" missiles (the oldest of the all United States' and USSR's ballistic missiles currently in operation) is not backed by any proposals on the further reduction of the overall level of charges on strategic offensive weapons comparable with Soviet initiatives. And moreover the United States is not renouncing the first nuclear strike. The United States' unilateral proposals on banning ICBM multiple reentry vehicles [MRV's] and making Soviet mobile ICBM's "stationary," which have repeatedly been mentioned in the press, do not only not concern U.S. strategic offensive forces, but go against the agreed tasks of strengthening stability.

Summing up the facts listed, it must be noted that if you admit that stability cannot be ensured just by one side—and this should not be doubted by anyone—then it is time for the American side to start moving more actively in order to cover its part of the road to be traveled.

Worldwide Issues

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gives News Briefing

LD0212172291 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondents Viktor Runov and Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—A possible split between the official line on Soviet foreign policy towards Israel and the personal views of the newly appointed Soviet ambassador to the Jewish state has been formally clarified in Moscow on Monday [2 December].

Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vitaliy Churkin emphasised at a news briefing today that the opinion expressed in last Friday's [29 November] IZVESTIYA newspaper by the political analyst and soon-to-be Moscow representative in Tel Aviv Aleksandr Bovin, does not reflect the official position of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Churkin said the article sets out Bovin's "own personal stand and I believe he'll change it by the time he presents his credentials to the Israeli authorities".

Bovin's comments suggested the Middle East conflict cannot be resolved peacefully in the near future.

Churkin said the call of the U.N. secretary general to the countries involved in Afghanistan to do whatever they can to release Soviet prisoners of war was received with gratitude in the Soviet Union.

Churkin expressed his conviction opposition leaders in Afghanistan will hear the call and help resolve the difficult problem. The Soviet spokesman added the

personal representative of the secretary-general on Afghanistan and Pakistan Benon Vahe Sevan arrived in Moscow for consultations on political settlement in Afghanistan.

The first contacts showed the U.N. realises the significance Soviet Union gives to the problem of Soviet POWs.

Churkin said a meeting between Sevan and Shevardnadze is scheduled for the near future.

More Reportage on NATO Delegation's Visit

'Pleased' With Moscow Talks

PM0212151391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Nov 91 Union Edition p 6

[A. Sychev report: "Union of Sovereign NATO Members? Quite Possibly. But Not Now"]

[Text] The range of tasks which the 16 members of the NATO Political Committee delegation set themselves on leaving for Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Ministry of External Relations was very wide. But the main tasks were to help change the Soviet public's perception of the North Atlantic bloc as an aggressive organization and, naturally, to familiarize themselves with the state of affairs in our country.

I believe that the NATO delegation members succeeded in carrying out their plans to the maximum during their four-day stay in our country. They had meetings with a number of figures from Union and Russian state and public structures.

The delegation members left Moscow pleased but not entirely content. The instability of the situation on the European continent, of which the disintegrating Soviet Union is increasingly becoming a component, gives rise to concern, the delegates said.

The North Atlantic alliance would like to see the Soviet Union as an equal partner with whom it is possible to conduct talks and do business. In London last year the NATO countries adopted a declaration in which, for the first time, they expressed readiness to extend the hand of friendship to the Soviet Union and urged it to cooperate. As John Kriendler, deputy assistant secretary general and delegation head, said in conversation with your correspondent, in addition to the existing plans, the NATO Economic Planning Committee is now drawing up a special program to familiarize the East European countries, including the Soviet Union, with the experience accumulated in the West in the sphere of conversion.

NATO rates highly the dialogue which has begun, but its further development is being prevented by the fact that the problems of funding programs and distributing budget funds between the Union and the republics have not been settled and no decision has been made on a political Union of the republics.

The proliferation of nuclear weapons cannot be permitted, the delegation members said. Journalists learned that the guests from NATO expressed a desire to be kept informed about any movements of nuclear weapons from one republic to another.

As far as can be judged from considered, diplomatic replies to questions, the NATO emissaries allow in principle that it will be possible at some time to admit the USSR or the state formation which will take its place to the NATO structures.

But NATO membership—possibly the optimum idea for strengthening confidence and security in Europe—can become a reality only in the remote future and only if our internal problems have been settled. True, neither the Soviet side nor the guests touched on such remote prospects during this visit.

'Warm Reception' Noted

PM0212162991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[Major E. Fedoseyev report: "'We Were Given an Exceptionally Warm Reception'"]

[Text] At the invitation of the Ministry of External Relations together with the Defense Ministry, the Russian-American University, and the Academy of Sciences, a delegation from NATO's Political Committee visited our country 24-28 November. The delegation was headed by John Kriendler, NATO deputy assistant secretary general.

The NATO representatives took part in the "USSR-NATO" seminar in Nakhabino, a town near Moscow. This was the first meeting with an eminent delegation from the North Atlantic alliance since the NATO session in Rome, where important decisions were adopted on NATO's transformation. This also determined the main questions of the seminar, such as the architecture of Europe in the nineties, changes in the military doctrines of the USSR and NATO, and possible areas of cooperation in nonmilitary spheres. The seminar was addressed by A. Rutskoy, vice president of Russia, and V. Karpov, USSR deputy minister of external relations.

Before departing the guests met with Soviet and foreign journalists at the Moscow Press Club. Delegation leader kriendler, briefly summarizing the outcome of the visit, noted that the NATO delegation was given an exceptionally warm reception. In his opinion, it is now very important to develop and expand contacts at all levels as well as to give as much information as possible on NATO's new structures and policy.

NATO Official Urges 'Expanding Contacts'

PM0212161791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[Captain S. Sidorov report: "NATO Ties To Become Broader"]

[Text] "NATO is a tried, tested, and viable model for the formation of relations between sovereign democratic states. It is a model which can be used quite extensively in the world," General Vigleik Eide, chairman of NATO's Military Committee, stated 27 November to participants in the international conference "The Armed Forces and Military Service in a Rule-of-Law State," held in Petrovo-Dalneye, a small town near Moscow.

Despite the disappearance of the old threats to the countries belonging to the North Atlantic bloc, the need to preserve NATO as a military organization remains, in Gen. Eide's opinion. "We still see the alliance as an important factor of stability, because the aims for which it was created have not finally been achieved. There is still too much instability and uncertainty in the world" the general stressed.

Talking about the changes taking place in NATO in connection with the end of the cold war, the speaker noted the importance of continuing the process of reforms in the alliance in keeping with the changes in the world, to "keep in step with the times." The authors of the alliance's new strategy, sealed by the NATO Council session in Rome, in Gen. Eide's words, took into account the need for a broader approach than before to ensuring security. "Future security will depend not only on political decisions but also on the economic and ecological state of the world and a number of other factors," Gen. Eide said. He noted that this concept was reflected in both the strategy and the new structure of the North Atlantic alliance.

In the future, in the NATO military leader's opinion, the bloc member states will have to pay increasing attention to nonmilitary aspects of security and the military alliance itself will gradually be transformed into a primarily political organization. In present conditions, however, the role of the military factor has far from disappeared, and thus "NATO's contribution to protecting peace must be realized by deterring a possible drift into the use of force by any side."

In conversation with your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, Gen. Eide stressed the importance of expanding contacts with our country, including contacts in the military sphere. Asked whether he sees the possibility of the creation of various joint structures in the military sphere in connection with the creation under NATO auspices of a Cooperation Council with the East European countries and the USSR, Gen. Eide answered: "I think that such structures will appear soon. As is well known, the Rome session put forward a proposal to formalize and institutionalize our contacts, including military contacts. We are extremely interested in expanding them as much as possible."

Western Aid Unlikely Until Problems Solved

LD0212225891 Moscow TASS in English 2238 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Boris Shabayev]

[Text] Geneva December 3 [as received] TASS—The U.N. European Economic Commission on Monday [2 December] issued a report on the situation in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The report released in Geneva said Eastern Europe is facing a severe economic recession, a wave of unemployment, galloping inflation and social and political tension.

The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, plagued with interethnic conflicts, are unable to govern their political and economic space.

In this situation, the West has yet to decide on the amount of its assistance to Eastern Europe and especially the Soviet Union, where republics propose different plans of economic reforms, aggravating the financial chaos in the country and accelerating the collapse of Federal bodies of power.

The report said the economic agreement signed by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and seven republics has not been implemented and can be considered only as "a declaration of intent".

The report said large-scale Western financial aid to the Soviet Union or its legal successors is unlikely until its leaders resolve the existing problems.

Western countries, however, are ready to provide technological, urgent food or any other support to the Soviet Union, provided the state has a clear-cut structure and efficient political powers, the report said.

European Parliament Delegation Discusses Aid

LD3011115591 Moscow TASS in English 1815 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Igor Peskov and Sergey Petukhov]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—The European parliament intends to give aid to the Soviet Union to ease its transition to a free democratic system. Members of a delegation of the European parliament told this at a news conference here today. They are visiting in the USSR at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Council.

European parliamentarians studied the possibility of implementating programmes of aid to the USSR which had earlier been agreed upon with the country's central leadership and with republics. There are plans for gratis aid with food to a sum of 250 million ecu [European

Currency Unit]. This aid will be sent mainly to St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev and Minsk.

The European Community will give credits to the USSR to purchase food products from West and East European countries to a sum of 500 million ecu. The European Community will also give the USSR long-term credits of 1,250 million ecu for these and other purposes.

Besides that, technical aid for 1991 and 1992 envisages the allocation of 900 million ecu for the development of power engineering, transport and health services.

"We are determined to support these programmes. We have seen during the visit that the success of positive transformations being made in the USSR over five years will depend in a decisive degree on the success of the economic reform in the next few months, [no end quotes as received] said Magdelana Hoff, head of the delegation of the European parliament. She said representatives of the European parliament intend to control the expenditure of funds allocated to the Union and republics from the budget of the European Community. Magdalena Hoff noted that the republics who recognise responsibity for the debts of the former Union and are prepared to participate in their payment will be receiving aid and credits.

West's Reasons for Aid to USSR Examined

PM0212164591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

["Topic of the Week" article by observer Aleksandr Golts: "Then the West Will Come Along..."]

[Text] "Unrealized hopes of accord," "unexpected deadlock," "republic leaders avoided steps to meet one another halfway." How reminiscent these assessments are of those that have now appeared in the world press regarding the abortive initialing of the Union treaty in Novo-Ogarevo. But they were not made today or about us. These descriptions were made seven months ago, following the meetings between the Yugoslav republic leaders which ended on as uncertain a note as the Nogo-Ogarevo vigil. At that time Yugoslavia still had a realistic chance of resolving the contradictions by normal civilized means. But this chance was ignored. The fact that republic leaders yielded to growing unruly nationalist forces got in the way. Today, utterly rent by civil war and having lost thousands of lives, Yugoslavia relies on just one thing: The arrival of UN peacekeeping forces.

Of course, it would hardly be fair to perceive our current situation as a mirror image of the Yugoslav situation at that time. But, like it or not, you do wonder: How many months have we been given to reach accord, so as not to travel the beaten track to national tragedy? Or is someone hoping that the West will come along, that the West will settle our dispute. Well, needless to say, it could help.

Aid and assistance from the industrially developed countries is virtually the main subject in the press today. This aid is seen almost as a panacea for all ills. Many of my compatriots see the West as a twofold deity. On the one hand, it is a mega-rich benefactor ready to give us some of its wealth solely out of humanism. That is why our politicians are hammering on their granaries' gates, which are for some reason closer than the renowned "granaries of the motherland." And the West does not seem to be refusing us. Washington has allocated more than $1 billion for food purchases. Even the Pentagon will be our benefactor. Some $100 million of its budget will be spent on organizing the emergency delivery of food and medicine to the USSR by military air transport.

Another of the West's incarnations is that of an impartial and fair mediator. It is no coincidence that in any serious conflict we call with enviable regularity for the immediate creation of an international commission or, even better, the deployment of UN troops. This is evidence not only of our unbounded trust in foreigners, but of our equally boundless mistrust of our own state institutions.

But should we rely solely on Western humanism? It cannot be denied that people there sincerely sympathize with our difficulties and want to help. And I am equally sincerely grateful for that. But let us ask ourselves: Why is this humanism being directed our way (or, more accurately, why do they intend to direct it our way) today? After all, a number of African countries are already suffering from far worse famine than that threatening us. Yet, I repeat, they are about to help us.

It is quite clear that it is a question of our donors' own national interests. For instance, the funds that we have been allocated will not reach the Soviet Union for the most part: They take the form of either credit guarantees or actual credits for the purchase of agricultural produce from Western countries. So, U.S. and West European farmers will receive the dollars and ecus. Western investors have still not brought themselves to invest money in our production.

But, needless to say, the West's main interest lies in the security sphere. The forcible disintegration of a nuclear power is very frightening. No one is making any secret of this connection. The Americans are allocating millions from the Pentagon budget because they are thus safeguarding their national security. It is no accident that, having "slashed" the plan for "winter aid" to $1 billion, the U.S. Congress immediately approved an allocation of $400 million for aid in the specific program to destroy Soviet nuclear weapons.

It is well known that one must not look a gift horse in the mouth. Thank you for that at least. Only let us think. The Soviet threat (no quotation marks here now) brought about by our domestic situation is now becoming a real factor in world politics. The newly appointed head of the Soviet diplomatic department talks about this threat openly. The West is trying to remove or at least diminish it through humanitarian support, expecting that we will

be able to reach agreement in the meantime. What if that is not enough? What if we still lack not only grain, but also common sense? What if we continue along the path of conflict and maybe even the road to all-out split and disintegration? Will we not make it necessary for the West to use different, noneconomic methods?

How can I fail to recall here a TIME magazine report of seven months ago? It said that the Pentagon had developed the "Steppe Shield" operation, whose aim was to influence the development of events in the former USSR. Not so much to halt the conflicts, moreover, as to secure the whole world against the atomic nightmare.

I have no intention of reproaching Western strategists for formulating such plans. I repeat, that was why they were appointed—to ensure their states' security by every means at their disposal. But is it not time for our leaders to remember their responsibility for their peoples' safety and prevent a slide into a "nuclear Yugoslavia?"

'International Observers Roundtable' Program

LD0112193691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1330 GMT 1 Dec 91

["International Observers at the Roundtable" program with Vsevolod Ivanovich Sovva, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of External Affairs Information Directorate; TASS political observer Yuriy Konstantinovich Tyssovskiy; and Vladimir Georgiyevich Pasko, All-Union Radio foreign policy commentator]

[Excerpts] We offer for your attention the program International Observers at the Round Table. Taking part in the conversation are Vsevolod Ivanovich Sovva, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate; TASS political observer Yuriy Konstantinovich Tyssovskiy; and Vladimir Georgiyevich Pasko, All-Union Radio foreign policy commentator. [passage omitted]

[Pasko] The participants in the Novo-Ogarevo process, even in reduced numbers, could not decide to initial the draft Union treaty last week and sent it for consideration in the republican parliaments. The main dispute, as we know, flared up around the name of the entity which will replace the Soviet Union—whether it should be a confederative state or a confederation. After discussion it was decided to leave the term confederative democratic state in the text of the draft. However, it would nevertheless be premature to state that the dispute had been resolved.

For example, Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, who was not represented at the sitting, expressed the opinion in an interview to IZVESTIYA that a confederation and a single state are incompatible features. Kravchuk recognizes that strategic troops should be under sole collective command with a sole Ministry of Defense. However, this principle has not yet received united support from the republican Supreme Soviets. If we are to live in a single military and strategic space, Kravchuk says, then let everything remain as it is. But if not, what will happen? Will the Ukraine lay claim on control [kontrol] over the nuclear button or will it propose that—let us say—Russia should take over the nuclear weapons which are now on its territory. What decisions will be made regarding conventional forces? These are just some of the questions, and moreover questions which are on the surface, for which neither we nor the West have the answers.

[Sovva] I would like to say that from the flow of information which we are receiving from abroad, it is evident that our internal problems must be our problems. Why? Because they interest people abroad only insofar as they touch on the interests of foreign countries. The main point is that the zone of responsibility connected with the sixth part of the world remains. It remains on the level that we live in a mutually dependent world. In a world which has mutual obligations. I consider that the great virtue of the countries of the West is that they are giving us an opportunity to extricate ourselves from the situation which existed previously into a really genuine democracy. Any incitement from abroad or wish to emerge with us, on the level of the Western world, would be inappropriate.

For this reason, it seems to me that the great virtue of the Novo-Ogarevo process is that we are confirming our obligations to the whole world, and our president is coming forward as the guarantor. The second point is we are stating that our new structure, which will be created with help—that of an economic, legal, human, and political space—this should be of interest to the whole world, because it will only support what exists in the world and not deny the reality which is, incidentally, also connected with issues of security, as well as with the guarantee that nuclear weapons will not permeate throughout the whole world. People abroad are sure that we are going along the correct path, and I think that we are also being given the opportunity to progress in this direction. It is precisely this which represents the guarantee of security for Europe and for the world.

[Tyssovskiy] I would like to add the following comment. The inexorable logic of the erosion of the totalitarian regime in our country inevitably implies the granting of more and more freedoms to the component parts of what used to be a united state. However, at the same time, in this country the process is assuming a slightly primitive, indeed savage, form. This applies both to sovereignties and to the attempts to reinforce this sovereignty with various actions which, in my view, go beyond the law. You know what I am talking about. I am referring to the attempts to establish separate armies equipped with weapons stationed on the territory of those states.

This is where I would like to bring in nuclear weapons. I am somewhat startled when I hear reputable people like President Nazarbayev and Kravchuk, for instance, saying that nuclear weapons should by controlled by the presidents of the states which will belong to the future association of states, the one which is now being formed.

This means that we will have at least 12 presidents responsible for the use of nuclear weapons. It seems likely, too, that the Mari Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, for instance, will also have its own president when it becomes a fully fledged state within Russia. If we take this as an example, we will then have about 50 new presidents demanding access to the nuclear button.

So, the question of nuclear weapons is one specific issue which justifies the existence of a central administration—I mean a central government and a central leadership which can do things throughout the Soviet Union or throughout the Union of sovereign states, as we now call it. This is a very important consideration, one which cannot fail to worry our negotiating partners in the West.

[Pasko] In debating the country's future structure, we are, I think, rather shamefully evading the military aspect of the problem. Indeed, once the world embarked on the disarmament road, it seemed inappropriate to talk about military threats. But nothing in the world is permanent. No matter how good our present relations with the outside world, it seems to me that the possibility of change still cannot be discounted. It has to be acknowledged that, despite the inefficiency of our economy, we have up to now been a great power, thanks to our potential as a federation. The talk now is of a confederation. Switzerland is held up as an example of a successful confederation. The European Community is also mentioned in this respect.

One can agree with the proposition that confederation is a more democratic structure than federation. But one also has to bear in mind that little Switzerland was able to adopt this structure precisely because its security was guaranteed by the strong powers of this world, who used it as a place to keep their capital. The security of Western Europe is to this day basically guaranteed by the United States. The United States itself is a federation in which political, economic, and military systems are shared. The same can be said of Canada, Mexico, the FRG, India, China, and other large powers.

The federal system has also proved itself in our country. After all, we achieved strategic parity, which now guarantees our security and wins us respect from the entire world, thanks to federation. The system of administration by command has, of course, become obsolete. Diktat by the center can no longer be tolerated and we are abandoning this. But I do not understand why we want to destroy something which has proved itself. Why can the United States exist as a federation when we cannot?

We often talk about the future. But let us take the purely quantitative aspect of the matter. Russia is the biggest republic. It has 150 million people. This is only half the population of Western Europe, which is moving toward unification. The United States now has a population of 250 million if I am not mistaken. No matter what encouraging pictures we may paint for ourselves, they are all, generally speaking, illusions. I accept the possibility that in time each of our republics may find its feet. But they will never achieve parity with the West so long as they remain cut off from each other. We will always be in a subordinate position, vassal states, providing raw materials if our Union really does collapse.

In this respect I understand perfectly well why Gorbachev and his supporters are trying to preserve the Union. If the Union disappears, our prospects are gloomy—we have no future without it. The West can see this, too. Let me quote something said the other day by a representative of the Washington Center for Strategic and International Studies: I am rather pessimistic about the future of the USSR, he said. They—he means the republics—cannot exist without close cooperation among themselves.

At the same time, it has to be said that a new and very negative element has emerged in the U.S. Administration's own policies during the last few days. I am referring to the so-called leak from the White House entourage about the U.S. readiness to recognize the Ukraine's independence if the republic's inhabitants vote for it. There is nothing wrong with that one might think. But the leak occurred on the eve of today's referendum in the Ukraine. This puts a different perspective on things. Basically, this is an attempt to influence the outcome of the voting—in a very specific direction. Virtually everybody, including the U.S. press, regards this leak as a deviation by Washington from its support of the USSR president's policy of preserving the Union. It is seen as interference in our internal affairs. It is said that the leak occurred after Bush's meeting with representatives of the Ukrainian community in the United States, whose votes he hopes to secure in the approaching elections. In other words, it is suggested that the leak was the result of Bush's attempts to settle his own problems. But that does not change things as far as we are concerned.

It is noteworthy that other Western countries, including Japan, have approached this question extremely cautiously. The EC foreign ministers, for instance, have stated that they will not discuss their policy toward the Ukraine until after the referendum. Their meeting is scheduled for Monday. At his meeting with Silayev, President Mitterrand of France said that he supports Gorbachev's efforts to preserve the Union. As far as one can tell from available information, a similar approach is taken by Britain and the FRG.

[Sovva] The rest of the world regards us as a single entity. We, on the other hand, see ourselves as separate entities. But they see us as a single entity. I think the republics will in the end return to this topic. Therefore, we probably need to be patient. There definitely will be a Union. The question is when and how. [passage omitted: Pasko switches the subject to the U.S. announcement that the second stage of the Near East peace conference will be held in Washington on 4 December; Tyssovskiy reproaches the Israeli leadership for seeking to postpone

the talks by five days; the Israelis resent being dictated to by Washington, so they have decided to be awkward—that is the view of the Israeli press; Tyssovskiy describes this as infantile behavior; Israel had better turn up, otherwise it will suffer a great propaganda defeat; Jerusalem understands this; Pasko notes that the third stage of the conference may be held in Moscow; now that the USSR has appointed an ambassador to Israel, its power to influence a settlement has increased; Sovva talks about Bovin's qualifications for the post; he will be a direct source of information henceforth; Soviet views on the question will mean a great deal more now; Tyssovskiy notes that the United States has put pressure on Israel to attend the talks but adds that Washington's basic position has not changed; it is advising the Palestinians to accept autonomy on the occupied lands and to avoid fundamental issues like the withdrawal of forces from occupied lands, settlements, and the like; progress on autonomy could help to unravel the entire problem of the Near East; Sovva views the U.S. approach as evidence of a desire to compromise; Tyssovskiy says the ultimate objective must be a Palestinian state since that is what the Palestinians are entitled to; Pasko winds up the program by talking briefly about the first meeting of the Soviet-American working group on strategic stability which has been held in Washington; such work helps reduce the threat of nuclear war in the world, he says]

'Friendship Force' Expands Into Republics

LD3011121291 Moscow TASS in English 1629 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kondratenko]

[Text] St. Petersburg November 29 TASS—An arm of the international organisation "Friendship Force" has been set up in the city on the Neva River to promote the development of direct links with foreign partners on a non-payment basis.

Organisation members are planning to begin a find-a-friend action in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Riga, Minsk and Tbilisi next January. Humanitarian aid will be extended to Soviet citizens within the framework of this action.

The friendship force, founded on the initiative of US former President Jimmy Carter, is now active in forty countries across the world.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is a member of the organisation's leadership.

United States & Canada

Silayev on Signing of U.S. Food Aid Protocol

LD0212162591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1453 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Dec (TASS)—Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee, and Robert Strauss, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, signed a protocol today on credit aid for supplies of agricultural products from the United States to the Soviet Union.

This document is a further step by the United States aimed at providing assistance in overcoming the economic difficulties in the Soviet Union, and in particular at supplying the country's population with food products.

Speaking to journalists, Ivan Silayev recalled that the U.S. President had decided to offer the Soviet Union credit amounting to $1.5 billion. He noted that instead of the $500 million envisaged in the first stage, the U.S. Administration had allocated $600 million. "Very solid support", he stressed. According to the understanding reached, Silayev said, the protocol comes into effect in four weeks' time. Consequently, the provision of supplies may be expected to start at the beginning of 1992.

Commenting on the situation in the country's economy, Silayev said that at present the budget is being supplemented by 40 percent. In his words, this is in connection with a sharp fall in the volume of production, increased expenditure on social needs, and the non-fulfillment of economic accords reached earlier between the republics. At the same time, he stated that "there is no need to overdramatize the situation". Silayev noted that it is necessary and important to form the country's budget for 1992.

Responding to a question from journalists on the results of the referendum in Ukraine and the involvement of Ukraine in the union, Silayev expressed agreement with the viewpoint of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, saying that "independence does not mean automatic secession from the union". Much depends on the next steps, he stated.

Report on Shevardnadze, Brzezinski Talks

OW0212194291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 2 Dec 91

[From "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Zbigniew Brzezinski, professor at Columbia and Georgetown univerities and the former U.S. national security advisor to the President, foresee a dramatic development in the events on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Brzezinski has visited Moscow as part of a group of political scientists from the American council on foreign policy. The Soviet Foreign Ministry announced the results of their meeting on Saturday, November 30th, and noted that Shevardnadze thinks that the government's main task is to preserve it democratic achievements and the country.

From a source close to Brzezinski a "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent has learned that during the talks with Shevardnadze, Brzezinski described the situation in the Soviet Union as "pre-revolutionary," when considering the danger of unforetold events to which the country could be led.

According to our source, both men talked about the possibility of spontaneous disturbances in cities when cold and hunger get a firm grip on people this winter.

Shevardnadze also noted the difficult situation which Soviet troops are in, especially those which are supposed to be removed from the Baltic states, and those who are located in republics shaken by sharp ethnic conflict. According to both sides, the most difficult factor is the extreme social factor which could effect the general situation in the country in the most radical manner.

It has also been learned that Shevardnadze and Brzezinski devoted "special attention" at the talks to the Ukraine, whose independence from the Union will shortly become a reality. In as much as the development of events seems to be moving towards a further "fragmentation of the union" (as expressed by one of the American political scientists also at the meeting), the reconstruction of even those repaired parts of political unity in the sovereign republics is becoming increasingly problematic. In addition to this, as was made clear in Boris Yeltsin's announcement, Russia does not intend to sign the Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States if the Ukraine refuses to sign.

Shevardnadze and Brzezinski's statements and opinions become even more interesting when one recalls that these politicians gained authority since their prophesies came true. Brzezinski says that he predicted the present events in the Soviet Union already two decades ago. With regard to Shevardnadze, he predicted the possibility of a coup in December of last year at a Soviet Congress of peoples' deputies. At the meeting with Brzezinski the Soviet Foreign Minister said that the current situation in the country is even more complicated than it had been before the events in August....

Brzezinski Interviewed on Future CIA Role

LD2911112691 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Report by correspondent Boris Kalyagin, including interview with Zbigniew Brzezinski conducted in English fading to Russian tranlation—from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Robert Gates, the new director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency has taken up his duties.

[Begin recording] [Kalyagin] A good half of all the resources allocated to American intelligence used to be channeled into activities against the Soviet Union. The figures remain a secret, but it is thought that a total of up to $30 billion a year is spent in the United States on the intelligence service. Yet, as both politicians and journalists are saying today, the CIA was unable to foresee any of the major events that have occurred in the world recently, including the collapse of the Communist regime in our country.

But this does not mean that the CIA's importance is diminishing. On the contrary, people are now saying that greater emphasis will be laid on spying by agents, which technical surveillance means had started to squeeze out at one time.

[Brzezinski] We have to continue to obtain information from the Soviet Union, particularly about its political, social, and economic development. We still have to show an interest in Soviet nuclear weapons.

[Kalyagin] Don't you think that the CIA will become smaller in size?

[Brzezinski] I don't think there is any need to reduce its size. But obviously the CIA's budget will be cut. We still have a great need for an effective and thinking intelligence service, made wise by experience. [end recording]

Baker To Discuss Ukraine in Moscow, Kiev

LD0212231491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2135 GMT 2 Dec 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State Baker will go to Moscow and Kiev to discuss problems connected with the independence of the Ukraine. President Bush has already given instructions to initially send a special U.S. emissary to Kiev—Thomas Niles, adviser to the secretary of state for Europe and Canada—to discuss future mutual relations with the newly elected authorities in Kiev.

Commentary on U.S. Military Expenditures Plan

LD3011090791 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0000 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov]

[Text] Though the United States present military expenditures, with the account of inflation, are 1 percent less than last year, they reflect a new approach. This year large scale measures will be carried out to reduce the number of the American troops, warships, and some programs to reduce weapons. There is also a marked delay in the production of the strategic bombers B-2, each costing over $860 million. Generally speaking, the United States (?is to) start carrying out its plan, according to which the defense expenditure by the mid-90s, in relation to the total economic spenditure, will be the lowest as compared to the pre-war times. They believe in the Pentagon that by 1995 the country's Armed Forces will be reduced by 25 percent.

But are the plans to reduce the defense efforts equivalent to the radical changes that take place in the world? How can it be explained that the programs to create new types of strategic weapons, conceived way back in the cold war years, are still preserved in America? For example, the Trident missiles for the [word indistinct] submarines were meant for waging military operations against the Soviet Union which is non existent in its former shape. But the development of these and similar weapons continue. Or take another example—the present American budget allocates almost $12 billion to the Energy Department to produce new nuclear warheads, and it's at the time when Moscow and Washington start eliminating thousands of nuclear charges. It is at the time when the American Senate has decided to set aside $700 million to help Moscow eliminate tactical nuclear arms. [Words indistinct] not so simple towards the reduction of the military expenditures and armaments in such a way that it would be equivalent to the changes going on in the world. And it could be attributed not only to America but to this country too. Here too, there are all sorts of discrepencies alongside the sharp reduction in the arms manufacturing. For example, tanks continue to be produced though according to the treaty on the conventional arms in Europe, the Soviet side is to scrap thousands of tanks.

It seems that the reduction of the military expenditures and armaments (?is the sphere) where our two countries always start to intensify their activities. The (?main) efforts are ahead. Now in Moscow both MPs [members of parliament] and military experts advance the idea to speed up the conversion and further reduce allocations for defense. For its part, in Washington the idea is being discussed to reduce military expenditure by $50 billion within five years—that is more than according to the current plans. Now that our countries have stopped being enemies, our avenues are open for the initiatives in this sphere.

Pentagon Aid Result of 'Elightened Interest'

PM0312132391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 91 Union Edition p 3

[Stanislav Kondrashov's "Political Observer's Opinion": "Here It Is, Enlightened Interest"]

[Excerpts] The idea that the time has come to pinch a slice of the Pentagon's still enormous budget pie in order to help an erstwhile rival power is persistently circulating in the air of U.S. politics. But the idea is having some difficulty in taking shape, as evidenced by the two concrete attempts made in November, one of which was a failure, while the other was entirely successful.

The pie ratified by Congress for the current fiscal year amounts to $291 billion. The first attempt aimed to get $1 billion, that is to say about one-third of a percent, and involved establishing a kind of aid fund for the destruction of weapons stipulated by agreements made by the two sides, the conversion of a number of Soviet military enterprises, and for sending food. Although the initiators were the extremely influential Senator Sam Nunn and the no less influential Congressman Les Aspin, the first attempt was unsuccessful. [passage omitted]

The second attempt succeeded, which our newspaper has already reported (No. 282). Out of the $500 million that both chambers of Congress hurriedly ratified just before Thanksgiving, $400 million will go as aid for the urgent destruction of Soviet tactical weapons, and $100 million will go as U.S. military-transport aviation operations to carry food to our country this winter.

The proviso must be made that this is a U.S. Congress initiative which the administration will also probably accept. There has still not been a corresponding official request from our side. On Tuesday, when the vote took place, previously scheduled U.S.-Soviet consultations involving diplomats and military personnel were held that also broadly included the question of tactical nuclear weapons. As we know, radical arms reduction and destruction were proclaimed at the end of September and the beginning of October by an exchange of unilateral initiatives between Bush and Gorbachev. At the same time it was decided to discuss safe methods of storing, transporting, and destroying tactical nuclear weapons. And also safe systems ensuring their nonuse, which also requires money and expert participation from both sides.

Of all the varieties of our chaos the most frightening one is the nuclear chaos. For us and the world around us. Tactical nuclear weapons might fall into dangerous unauthorized hands more easily. We have around 15,000 items, many more than the Americans. Our existing capabilities enable us to destroy about 2,000 items annually. The promised final deadline is the year 2000.

But who would venture to look ahead to 2000 if all attempts to predict the time frame for signing the Union Treaty—a week or two ahead—turn out to be futile? U.S. intelligence data has recently mentioned cases of guards abandoning Soviet missile base sites and setting off in search of food. The new year is near at hand, and there is no certainty as regards our military budget—and to what extent it will be a common one.

The task of disarming in these conditions is a race against time. And here is a touch of today's fantastic reality: Yesterday's rivals are prepared to help us with money and technology in order to secure both us and themselves against our weapons as quickly as possible. They are thinking primarily of themselves and their security. But they are also thinking about us. This is clearly called enlightened interest in a world where, in many important ways, we are all roped together.

CIA Defector Reportedly 'To Go Abroad'

PM0312094991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 91 p 2

[I. Kadulin report: "Spy Intends To Come In From the Cold"]

[Text] CIA staffer Edward Lee Howard, who defected to the USSR several years ago, now intends to leave our country. His career is enigmatic. It had been planned to appoint Howard, a cadre intelligence staffer, as leader of the CIA network of resident agents in Moscow, and so he was entrusted with the most secret information. For some reason the appointment was not made, and Howard was even dismissed from the CIA. Disillusioned with U.S. intelligence, Howard switched to the side of Soviet intelligence. He has lived in Moscow for five years, periodically leaving the USSR.

On 26 November THE WASHINGTON TIMES reported that Howard is concerned about his future and is even worried about his safety. Howard will probably become some kind of "thanks" for economic aid to the Soviet Union, THE WASHINGTON TIMES writes.

Replying to a question from TASS correspondents about Howard's future, Tatyana Samolis, press attache for the Central Intelligence Service, said that there is no threat to Howard and that, in his own words, Howard himself intends to go abroad. The Central Intelligence Service has held no talks about the defector's fate either with the FBI or with the CIA.

China

PRC Border Talks View Reducing Forces

LD0212183191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1615 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 2 Dec (TASS)—Component elements in armed forces reductions, geographical limits on the application of a general agreement, the exchange of initial data, and monitoring and confidence-building measures were discussed during the fifth round of Soviet-Chinese talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and strengthening confidence in the military sphere around the Soviet-Chinese border, the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry for External Relations reported today. The negotiations were held in Moscow from 11 November to 2 December. Discussion was held on the basis of drafts of a general agreement which have been presented by the Chinese and Soviet sides. The sides agreed to hold the next round of talks in Beijing in the spring of 1992.

Economic Cooperation With Taiwan Veiwed

OW0112200191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 29 Nov 91

[From the "Business Weekly" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and Taiwan can now be described as firm and yet dynamic. Experts believe that the volume of trade between the two countries will amount to $220-240 mn [million] by the end of 1991—twice the level attained in 1990.

The prospects for Soviet-Taiwanese economic cooperation are reviewed by Vladimir Andrianov.

SOVIET IMPORTS. The USSR buys sewing machines, television sets, cassette recorders, video players, telephone and telegraph communications equipment, calculators, cash registers, men and women's clothes, cosmetics and perfumes from Taiwan.

SOVIET EXPORTS. The main Soviet exports to Taiwan are semi-finished products in iron and steel, cotton fabrics, synthetic rubber, petroleum products, coal, pipes, asbestos, flour, meat and fish.

THE VOLUME OF TRADE IS EXPECTED TO INCREASE. The next few years, according to specialists, should see a further expansion of this type of mutually beneficial cooperation. In 1992 trade turnover is likely to increase to between $400-500 mn.

In September of this year, a major trade agreement was signed between the USSR and Taiwan, which, among other things, provides for $200 mn worth of barter trade.

Under the agreement, Taiwan will supply the Soviet Far East (chiefly Irkutsk and adjacent regions) with footwear, sewn garments, tinned foods and other consumer goods in exchange for aluminium ingots, oil, timber and other raw materials and semi-finished goods.

Both the USSR and Taiwan are expected to begin deliveries before the end of this year.

Specialists are convinced that, at the present time, barter is the most suitable and effective form of foreign trade for the USSR, since it dispenses with the problems caused by the country's lack of hard currency.

The agreement also provides for Taiwanese involvement in joint ventures in the Irkutsk food industry and for the use of modern Taiwanese technology in the processing of agricultural products.

By the mid-199Os trade between the Soviet Union and Taiwan is expected to increase to between $1.5 bn [billion] and $2 bn accompanied by a substantial diversification both in the trade structure and in the forms of economic cooperation between the two countries.

HARD CURRENCY TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN THE U.S.S.R. AND TAIWAN CAN NOW BE EFFECTED DIRECTLY. The expansion of bilateral trade will be aided by the establishment of direct hard currency accounting between the USSR and Taiwan. This will considerably facilitate the procedure for transferring money. Previously, all hard currency accounting had to be conducted via the Zurich Branch of the Vneshekonombank.

In August 1991, Taiwan's four largest state-owned banks were given the right to make direct transfers of funds to Soviet banks.

Special secret codes were devised for conducting hard currency transfers between the Vneshekonombank and the International Moscow Bank, on the one hand, and three Taiwanese banks—the Central Trust of China, the Hua Hung Commercial and the Export-Import Bank of China, on the other.

In the near future, the USSR's International Investment Bank, Taiwan's First Commercial Bank and the Chungva Commercial Bank also intend to join the present agreement.

TAWIAN MAY PROVIDE FINANCIAL AID TO THE U.S.S.R. The Taiwanese Minister of Economic Affairs has stated that financial aid to the Soviet Union was now under consideration.

With over $70 bn in gold and currency reserves—among the which world's largest [as received]—Taiwan would be able to provide both direct aid and aid through international financial orrganizations, such as the World Bank and the Asiatic Development Bank.

In addition, the Soviet Union could also receive soft loans from the Taiwanese Fund for Development and Cooperation with Foreign Countries, which was set up in 1988. The Fund's capital at present is in excess of $1 bn and by 1995 could be anything from $3 to 5 bn.

The Fund provides credits in the form of 20-year loans at 3% annual interest. The allocation of credits is in the hands of the Export-Import Bank of Taiwan.

As a rule, the Fund's loans are channeled for financing small and medium companies, setting up industrial export zones, improving infrastructure for industry and developing mining.

An official request is required for receipt of the loan.

Northeast Asia

Officials Comment on DPRK Border Treaty

SK3011020591 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1330 GMT 28 Nov 91

[From the "Various Aspects of Cooperation" program]

[Text] A ceremony was held in Moscow in which the DPRK and the Soviet Union exchanged ratified documents of a Soviet-Korea government-to-government treaty on border crossing procedures. Soviet Vice Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev and Son Son-pil, DPRK ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Soviet Union, were present.

[Begin Rogachev recording fading into Korean translation] This treaty, one of the three legal documents on border crossing procedures signed between our two countries over the past few years, has brought an end to difficult but diverse works since it was put into effect.

This treaty envisions the establishment of the border as completely and clearly defined and a satisfactory settlement of issues related to the Soviet-Korea border.

Though not very long, the border between our two countries is satisfactory and active. People visit each other and millions of tons of cargo cross the border.

The two countries use the Tuman River along the border jointly. Ships will soon be able to navigate this river, whose water runs into the Sea of Japan. The Soviet Maritime Province and its southern region close to the Soviet-Korea border will be turned into a special free economic zone, providing conditions favorable for foreign businessmen, including ones from the DPRK.

The treaty clearly defines the procedures for crossing the border by individuals and organizations; transportation; utilization of resources in areas close to the border; and other forms of economic activity.

The treaty classifies in detail such things as the code of conduct for the authorities of the two countries manning the areas close to the border, as well as their rights and duties.

This treaty will remain valid for 10 years. [end recording]

[Begin Son Song-pil recording] Esteemed Comrade Vice Minister Rogachev and dear Soviet comrades: We have just exchanged ratified treaty documents on border crossing procedures between our country and the Soviet Union.

We rejoice at the signing of the treaty that governs the border between our two countries and at today's exchange of ratified documents.

This treaty is a legal document demonstrating that our two countries are the closest neighbors. As the comrade vice minister noted, our people and Soviet people visit each other and a large quantity of goods move across this border.

This means that this is not only a border that sets the boundaries of our two countries, but it also a border that guarantees our ties and cooperation.

As close neighbors, our two countries have maintained close relations in politics, economy, and culture and have prospects for continuing those relations. I am convinced that this border will guarantee the friendship and cooperation between our two countries.

I extend my gratitude to members of the Soviet delegation and members of our side's delegation who have made sincere efforts for the signing of this border treaty. [end recording]

Denuclearization of Korean Peninsula Discussed

SK0212114591 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1100 GMT 1 Dec 91

[By TASS reporter (Vladimir Sontsov); from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] TASS reporter (Vladimir Sontsov) examines the possibility of turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone.

The United States began withdrawing its tactical nuclear weapons from the ROK last week, reported YONHAP News Agency, quoting an ROK Government source.

Following its policy of neither confirming nor denying the presence of nuclear weapons, according to a spokesman for the Seoul administration [haengjongbu] who wanted to remain anonymous, the United States has not given the exact date it will start withdrawing the nuclear weapons. However, he said he was certain that the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear weapons from the ROK has really begun.

According to testimony by U.S. experts, the United States currently has about 100 tactical nuclear weapons in the ROK. These nuclear weapons, such as bombs and shells, are deployed at an Air Force base in Kunsan, southwest of Seoul.

In addition, the United States has two batteries of Lance missiles and 24 pursuit-fighters capable of carrying nuclear weapons in the ROK, according to the press.

The withdrawal of U.S. nuclear weapons from the ROK is in step with U.S. President Bush's proposal for a drastic reduction of tactical nuclear weapons announced last September and ROK President No Tae-u's announcement of his will to turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone declared on 8 November.

According to press reports, Washington and Seoul have agreed to complete the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear weapons from the ROK before the end of this year.

According to ROK delegates, the possibility of the United States withdrawing its nuclear weapons from the ROK, as was expected, has taken into consideration the conspicuous changes that may take place in the North Korean position, which is believed to be capable of developing its own nuclear weapons soon.

Until recently, Pyongyang had adamantly refused to agree to international inspections of its nuclear weapons until the United States has completely withdrawn its nuclear weapons from the ROK.

In a statement released on 25 November, the DPRK Foreign Ministry expressed its willingness to sign the nuclear safeguards accord with the International Atomic Energy Agency when the United States begins withdrawing its nuclear weapons from the ROK, acknowledging such a development.

The source in the ROK quoted by YONHAP said that if Pyongyang opens up its nuclear facilities for inspection by the international body, Seoul may agree to inspections of the U.S. military facilities in the ROK as part of a confidence-building measure.

The possibility of turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone has now become practical.

DPRK Stance Viewed

PM0212164991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 91 Union Edition p 3

[G. Stepanov article: "North Korea's Nuclear Program. In the Opinion of U.S. Experts, Pyongyang Is Very Close to Developing a Nuclear Weapon]

[Text] Is North Korea developing [sozdayet] its own atom bomb? The Americans are convinced that Pyongyang's work on nuclear weapons is now at its final stage, and they are insistently demanding that international inspections be held. All the indications are that the Soviet Union, which for many years shielded its ideological ally from the "unsubstantiated accusations" of the West, is today changing its approach.

The peninsula is a conflict point not just in Southeast Asia but in world terms too. A major factor affecting the situation in the region is the American nuclear weapons stationed in the south of the peninsula after the Korean War. The United States has itself never admitted the existence of the weapons, guided by the principle of "neither confirming nor denying." "The U.S. nuclear weapons in South Korea are tactical weapons and are regarded by the Americans as an instrument for deterrence and at the same time pressure on North Korea. But there cannot be a nuclear war on the Korean peninsula, of course," Yuriy Fadeyev, deputy chief of the Ministry of External Relations Far East and Indochina Administration, believes.

The topic of Pyongyang's nuclear ambitions is the focus of attention of Western mass media and U.S. officials. Secretary of State James Baker called the DPRK's nuclear program "an extremely serious threat to security and stability in Asia." U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney called it "the main source of instability in Southeast Asia." A plutonium processing plant suitable for manufacturing nuclear warheads is currently under construction and could start operating as early as next year, he said.

But nonetheless, at present there is no incontrovertible evidence backed up by documentary confirmation that North Korea is working to develop its own atom bomb. A significant proportion of the information that the Americans possess consists of photographs taken from the air.

Six years ago the DPRK signed the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, but it is still refusing to allow the international inspections stipulated

by this document to be carried out on its territory. "As far as I know," Yu. Fadeyev says, "there are nuclear installations in the DPRK which Pyongyang is trying to keep secret. When there has been a five-year delay in signing the verification [kontrolnyy] agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA], the question arises—is North Korea's nuclear activity going beyond the bounds of scientific research and industrial purposes. Although we cannot fail to take note of Pyongyang's official statement at the highest level that the DPRK "has neither the intention nor the potential to develop nuclear weapons."

On 25 November the North Korean Foreign Ministry unexpectedly announced that it will sign an agreement allowing international inspection of its nuclear installations if the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear munitions from the south of the peninsula begins (the United States had already made this decision and has embarked on implementing it). Moreover, the statement includes a proposal for simultaneous inspections of the sites where U.S. nuclear weapons are stationed in South Korea and "nuclear installations" in North Korea and for holding talks between Pyongyang and Washington on eliminating the "nuclear threat" to the DPRK. North Korea invites Seoul to discuss the question of establishing a nuclear-free zone on the Korean peninsula and renouncing the development of nuclear weapons.

"The second point in the DPRK Foreign Ministry statement," Yu. Fadeyev explains, "envisages carrying out simultaneous inspections in North and South Korea. There is not a word about inspecting military installations. IAEA monitoring of peaceful nuclear installations in the south has been going on for a long time—ever since South Korea signed the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. While proposing to send inspectors to military bases in the south of the peninsula, Pyongyang at the same time says nothing about allowing them into its own military installations. Serious differences of opinion between the North and the South are possible on this point: No Tae-u will obviously be prepared to accept verification of both military and peaceful installations, but only on an equal basis. And the second point does not offer this sort of parity."

In Moscow's opinion, the establishment of a nuclear-free zone would be a radical solution to the problems of the Korean peninsula. Our country is prepared to be the guarantor of Korea's nuclear-free status. The Soviet side has always tried to persuade the Americans that strong-arm diplomacy against the DPRK is unproductive and has called for nuclear weapons to be withdrawn from South Korea. But Moscow has also tried to lean on Pyongyang to sign the international inspections agreement. After all, if we are to believe the statement that the DPRK Government made in 1986, Pyongyang renounces the production and siting of nuclear weapons in the country. So it has nothing to fear.

North-South Korean Relations Viewed

SK0212113091 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 0900 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] (Razvayev), PRAVDA correspondent in [name indistinct], writes: The sight of a concrete wall standing in the middle of the Korean peninsula reminds me of the Berlin Wall. The Berlin Wall is gone now, and the two Germanys have been reunified.

However, the concrete wall built in the area south of the Demilitarized Zone is still a symbol of a divided Korea.

Many prominent ROK figures I met and talked with while I was there told me that contrary to appearances, the South and North were very slow in approaching each other.

They cited the fact that long before the breakup of the Berlin Wall, the two Germanys had kept expanding trade relations between them and relatives had kept visiting each other. Social organizations had continued contacts, and scientific and cultural organizations had kept up exchanges between them.

In an interview with this reporter, ROK Minister of Youth and Sports Affairs Pak Chol-on, said: We ROK people have, in essence, started from scratch. We have, in fact, no ties between the displaced families, and even social and religious organizations have had no contacts between them. Trade and economic exchanges have just begun. We have recently signed an agreement on forming one team between the South and North.

I do not mean to offer a prescription for the settlement of the Korean question.

I view this concrete wall as the crystallization of [word indistinct], animosity, estrangement, and suspicion that have continued between the South and North for nearly 50 years. These were the causes of the three years of fratricide on the Korean peninsula.

The war has left certain scars that were visible in the talks that began between the South and North in July 1972. The talks between the South and North aimed at lessening the military and political confrontation and at exchange of [word indistinct] are being carried out, but with difficulties. They have often been postponed, and some of them remain suspended indefinitely.

I believe that the causes of such developments are associated with the different attitudes the two sides adopt on how to diminish tensions on the Korean peninsula.

While Pyongyang sees the settlement of the political and military issues as something that must be done before anything else, Seoul regards exchanges and contacts in many areas and confidence-building as the first order of business.

The deployment of 39,000 U.S. troops and their nuclear warheads in South Korea makes it harder to solve the

problem. Pyongyang alleges that there are about 1,000 units of nuclear weapons in South Korea.

On the other hand, the recent widespread rumors that the DPRK is close to developing its own nuclear weapons arouses apprehension in the ROK and its allies.

It remains to be seen how this question will be solved. The fact that the South and North, that is to say the DPRK and the ROK, have been admitted into the United Nations simultaneously raises hopes. This is, in fact, the first great practical step taken toward coordinating the Korean question peacefully.

I was convinced during my visit to the ROK that everyone there hopes for a peaceful reunification.

Further Reportage on Kuril Islands Issue

UN Guardianship Petitioned

OW0212195391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Inhabitants of one of the four islands being fought over by the Soviet Union and Japan, the island of Kunashir, have started collecting signatures to present to the United Nations. An INTERFAX correspondent reports that the inhabitants signing the petition are in favor of refusing both Soviet and Japanese jurisdiction, and are supporting a request to the U.N. to take the Southern-Kuril islands under international guardianship under the aegis of the UN.

Committee Discusses Islands

OW0212004991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2143 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [29 November] there was a round-table meeting in Moscow on the issue of the South Kuril Islands organized by the Soviet Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Environmental Safety of Seas.

At the opening the committee chairman Pyotr Barabulya said that the participants should discuss different approaches of scientists, economists, diplomats and militarymen to the problem. Nevertheless, many speakers emphasised the indisputable and inseparable right of Russia to own the islands of Iturup, Kunashir, Shikotan and Habomai having a combined size of 9,000 square kilometers.

It was said that the present situation was one of the logical results of World War Two reflected in the 1951 San Francisco Treaty. Speakers also pointed to the generally recognized principle of the inviolability of post-war borders and "the danger of a precedent (if the islands are returned to Japan), because as a result of the war the Soviet Union also acquired a number of territories in the west."

Representatives of the Fishing Ministry warned that the surrender of the islands will lead to great economic losses because 12 percent of the country's fish currently comes from the 200 mile economic zone of the disputed area. In terms of money this is 7 bln. rbls [billion rubles].

Deputy Foreign Minister of Russia Georgiy Kunadze said that Soviet-Japanese relations are unique because the two countries still have not signed a peace treaty after World War Two or drawn legal borders. "As the problem exists, we will have to hold talks with Japan, he stressed, it is not a question of unconditionally surrendering the disputed islands, still none of the possible settlement versions should be ruled out." [quotation marks as received]

Answering a question from IF's [INTERFAX] reporter Kunadze said that "it is too early to speak of the timeframe of concrete talks, though there have been preliminary contacts with the Japanese side.

Japan To Supply Aid

LD0212131391 Moscow TASS in English 1223 GMT 2 Dec 91

[by TASS correspondent Vladimir Prokhorov]

[Text] Tokyo December 2 TASS—The Japanese Government has decided to ship food worth 20 million yen (about 150,000 U.S. dollars) directly to inhabitants of the four South Kuril islands, which Japan is claiming for itself.

This was disclosed by a Japanese Foreign Ministry official in a conversation with the Sakhalin region administration head Vyacheslav Fedorov during his visit to Tokyo.

The island inhabitants will receive a sizable shipment of powdered milk and other essentials. A smaller shipment is intended for the inhabitants of Sakhalin and the other Kuril islands.

This is the first practical step to be taken by the Japanese government after it made the decision last December to extend urgent food and medical aid worth 100 million U.S dollars to the Soviet Union.

Transportation Problems Noted

LD0312124191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1215 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Belovitskiy]

[Text] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, 2 Dec (TASS)—The southern Kuril Islands, possession of which is claimed by Japan, are today moving further and further away from Russia. Transportation links between them and other regions in the Soviet Far East have been virtually brought to a halt.

People sometimes have to wait for weeks for an opportunity to get to the southern Kuril Islands or to get from them to the mainland or even to the major island of Sakhalin.

Yet another dispute broke out today at the airport of Yuzhno- Sakhalinsk between staff of the airlines and holders of tickets to the island of Iturup. The departure of the aircraft was held up because the military people refused to fuel the aircraft.

Residents of the Yuzhno-Kurilskiy rayon are in a desperate situation: The local airport has been closed indefinitely; the motor-vessel "Titovka", which has to provide links between Sakhalin, Kunashir, and Shikotan during the winter, began a scheduled week-long standdown at the end of November. But even it will not bring the continent any closer for many islanders—the journey from Yuzhno- Kurilsk to Korsakov (a port in southern Sakhalin) will cost more than 600 rubles. Furthermore the Far Eastern Maritime Shipping Directorate intends to cut voyages by its vessels to the Kurils during the next shipping season.

Supreme Soviet Delegates in Tokyo for Meetings

LD0212230991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1151 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov]

[Text] Tokyo, 2 Dec (TASS)—A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by Vladimir Adylov, deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union, arrived in Tokyo today within the framework of a bilateral interparliamentary exchange. During the seven-day visit, the delegates representing Russia, Belarus [Belorussia], Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, are to get acquainted with the work of the supreme legislative body of Japan and visit its two chambers and numerous commissions. It is expected that the delegation members will be received by Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa and Foreign Affairs Minister Michio Watanabe tomorrow. The delegation will also visit Osaka and Kyoto during its stay in Japan.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Official Denies Pull Out From Cam Ranh Bay

PM0312111591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 91 p 1

[A. Khokhlov report: "Our 'Demobilized Men' Are Leaving Vietnam"]

[Text] There is a fresh news scoop every day. The latest: According to Western news agency reports, the USSR Navy has begun to close down its base at the Vietnamese port of Cam Ranh Bay. Arms, equipment, and personnel already are leaving.

Vice Admiral D. Komarov, deputy chief of the USSR Navy Main Staff, told me that the authors of the sensational reports were somewhat premature. Transports carrying Soviet seamen indeed have left Cam Ranh Bay, but only those servicemen who are joining the reserve have returned home. They will be replaced soon by other personnel. Some obsolete equipment also has been shipped out of the Vietnamese port. The status of the USSR Navy's material and technical supply point at Cam Ranh Bay remains unchanged at present.

Naval Officer Says Report False

LD2811154291 Moscow TASS in English 1249 GMT 28 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Palagutin]

[Text] Vladivostok November 28 TASS—"Rumors about the liquidation of the Soviet naval base in the Vietnamese port of Cam Ranh, spread by some means of information, are false," Rear Admiral Aleksey Ryzhenko, first deputy chief of the Pacific Navy Staff told TASS today.

He said sensation-happy journalists "were misled by the routine removal of some obsolete equipment from the base and the return home of servicemen, who have completed their term of duty at Cam Ranh, and their families. Some technical installations are to be reequipped at the base," Ryzhenko said, "but its status remains unchanged."

Near East & South Asia

Experts Deny Supplying Iraq With 93% Uranium

OW0212153991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1445 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Uranium 235 of 93% concentration found in Iraq has nothing to do with the Soviet Union—an expert of the USSR Atomic Energy Ministry has said today, Dec 2, in an interview with INTERFAX. This is highly concentrated nuclear material which the USSR "never supplied to Iraq."

The expert admitted that under former agreements with Baghdad the USSR supplied to Iraq first 80%, then 36% uranium "subject to guarantees of its never being used for military purposes according to the International Atomic Energy Agency's [IAEA] rules". After some time the supplies were discontinued. All the uranium of Soviet origin found in Iraq by the IAEA experts (10.9 kg of 80% concentration and 1.2 kg of 36%) has been lately taken back to the USSR by two flights.

To a question by our correspondent the ministry's spokesman replied that Iraq could have used 93% uranium for energy purposes, but "4% concentration would

be good enough for that". He admitted that the material could well be used for producing atomic weapons.

It has become known to INTERFAX that besides the USSR, France was also supplying uranium to Iraq.

Further on Uranium Shipment to Sheremetyevo

PM2911152191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 26 Nov 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast: Report by A. Paslyak, A. Krapivin, and A. Arbuzov]

[Text] [Announcer] UN experts have discovered a new store of enriched uranium at an Iraqi enterprise. The possibility that they will find an atomic bomb which is almost ready is not being ruled out. Experts believe that the search needs to be continued without relying on any further assurances of the Iraqi leadership.

Incidentally, we have already reported that the Soviet Union gave its consent to store on its territory uranium which had been confiscated in Iraq. A few days ago, 11 containers with 78 rods of enriched uranium were delivered to Sheremetyevo airport by two special flights.

[A. Paslyak] Only MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA reported the secret cargo from Iraq.

[S. Yermakov, not further identified] The recipient country or the supplying country does not have the right to disclose the whereabouts and the route of transportation of highly enriched uranium if the quantity exceeds a certain amount. This right was observed by the Soviet side.

[Paslyak] According to UN Security Council resolution 687, all materials which have been or could still be components of Iraq's nuclear or chemical missile potential are subject to destruction, confiscation, or to be rendered harmless. But according to Resolution 707, Iraq relinquishes all rights to nuclear fuel.

[Paslyak] In the mid-sixties, our country helped in the construction in that country of a research reactor, to which the so-called fuel elements were delivered—tubes filled with various concentrations of enriched uranium-235. It was this reactor which the Israeli air force attacked 10 years ago when Tel Aviv began to suspect that Baghdad was creating an atomic bomb. Having concealed the rods during the bombing, Husayn placed this uranium, bought in the USSR, under International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] control. International inspection confirmed that everything was OK. But when war broke out in the Persian Gulf the new fears prompted the United Nations and IAEA, with the support of the USSR and the United States, to seek to remove the actual source of the fears. Although in the specialists' opinion, given Iraq's level of industrial development and research, it was simply unrealistic to use the reactor to produce the necessary raw materials for a bomb. The question was resolved in a way that suited everyone: both for the United Nations as a whole, the United States with its policy of demilitarizing the aggressor, and for the Iraqi authorities, freed from this trade embargo. Our country, however, receives about $700,000 for removing 12 kilograms of fuel elements, providing services in diluting the highly enriched uranium, storage, and ensuring its subsequent use in accordance with IAEA procedures. But we, I think, need more glasnost about themes which have distressing associations and which generate stereotypes of fear. Thus in the next few days we will be giving you good news about our nuclear industry as well as what is happening to Iraq's war machine.

[Announcer] Nevertheless, I think that $700,000 for the storage on our territory of radioactive uranium is peanuts, given that we cannot store our own stocks without leakages.

Official on Israeli Request for Talks Delay

OW2811161291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1532 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR Ministry for External Relations is not inclined to dramatize the situation that took shape in the Middle East when Israel called for postponing bilateral talks with the Arabs from the 4th to the 9th of December, a highranking ministry official told IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent. This doesn't mean that a participant in the Madrid conference on the Middle East declined to continue negotiations, he said. According to information available to the ministry, all of them agree to come to Washington.

According to the spokesman, the emerging snags, such as Israel's reservations connected with timing, can be overcome. "To gather at the negotiating table a couple of days sooner or later is not a serious problem. The main thing is to maintain the continuity of the peace process begun in Madrid," he pointed out.

Israeli Ambassador Supports 'Warm Relations'

LD0212230491 Moscow TASS in English 2252 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow December 3 [as received] TASS—"Israel has great desire to establish close, I would even say warm relations with the Soviet Union", Israeli ambassador to the U.S.S.R. Arye Levin said in an interview given to VECHERNAYA MOSKVA (EVENING MOSCOW) daily on Monday. "We have much in common and this forms favourable conditions for cooperation", Levin said.

"Russia and other sovereign republics possess tremendous potentials. Appropriate forms of cooperation must only be found. Transition from one economic system to another can never be easy, it might even be painful", Levin said.

Shevardnadze, Iranian Minister Talks Detailed

PM2911112191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 91 Union Edition pp 1, 5

[G. Charodeyev report: "Iran Is Possibly Going To Open Consulates in the Republics..."]

[Text] As IZVESTIYA reported 26 November, Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati has come to Moscow as special envoy of the Iranian president with a message for President M. Gorbachev. The first round of talks and a one-on-one conversation between the Iranian visitor and E. Shevardnadze, the country's minister of external relations, was held on the morning of 25 November at the diplomatic building on Aleksey Tolstoy street. A spokesman for the Ministry of External Relations Information Administration present at the meeting said that E. Shevardnadze welcomed the special feature of Velayati's visit—the intention to visit not only Moscow but also a number of sovereign republics. "In the development of Iran's relations with the sovereign republics," the Soviet minister noted, "we see the positive factor of bilateral relations. A new technique of forming foreign policy is developing now—with the direct participation of the leaders of the republics. Therefore, direct contacts in the republics are of great significance."

The Iranian side stressed that when developing relations with the sovereign republics, Tehran would like to work within the framework of general Soviet-Iranian relations. In this regard, 'A.A. Velayati asked for E. Shevardnadze's reaction to the possibility of opening Iranian consulates in a number of sovereign republics and consulates of those republics in Teheran. "There are no objections here," Shevardnadze replied. "We would only welcome it if during your visit to the republics you were to reach the corresponding agreements and announce the opening of consulates."

The ministers assessed the present state of Soviet-Iranian relations. It should be noted that the very character of the Iranian delegation, which included representatives of the economic, financial, scientific, and cultural spheres, demonstrates the scale of the ties developing between the two countries. It was agreed that expert-level consultations on specific aspects would be held in Moscow at this time after which the ministers would meet again on 26 November to sum up the results and set future tasks. It was also agreed to hold an in-depth discussion of the Afghan problem at deputy foreign minister level.

At the Ministry of External Relations your IZVESTIYA correspondent was told that during the two ministers' conversation the sides also broached the question of the fate of Soviet prisoners of war in Afghanistan. The Iranians reaffirmed that they are ready to give every assistance in resolving this problem and exert the maximum influence on those groupings on which the liberation of the Soviet citizens depends.

In accordance with the program of the Iranian Foreign Minister's visit to our country, talks began at the House of the Russian Soviets 25 November between RSFSR Vice President A. Rutskoy and 'A.A. Velayati. The meeting was dedicated primarily to problems of the development of Russian-Iranian relations and some regional problems. The question of the Soviet prisoners of war in Afghanistan was raised.

Commentary on Talks With Iran's Velyati

NC2811094291 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian to Iran 1430 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners: The first round of talks between Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati and the Soviet leadership has ended. We invite you to listen to Yuriy Andreyev's commentary.

'Ali Akbar Velayati arrived in Moscow as the special envoy of Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, holding his first round of talks with Eduard Shevardnadze yesterday. Today Velayati was received by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, handing him a message from the Iranian president. Soviet Foreign Ministry press center correspondents were told that Soviet-Iranian contacts in Moscow were carried out in a friendly atmosphere, further consolidating bilateral cooperation.

Yuriy Andreyev writes: 'Ali Akbar Velayati's visit cannot be described normal in Soviet-Iranian relations. This is the longest visit by an Iranian foreign minister to the Soviet Union in recent years and its many programs are unprecedented.

Velayati is to stay in the Soviet Union for 10 days, after Moscow visiting Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Tajikstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Azerbaijan.

Politically, the unusual aspect of his visit is that this time it concerns expanding Iran's relations with some republics with sovereignty rights. Iran intends establishing direct economic and political contacts with the union's Islamic republics soon. The Iranian foreign minister has said that Tehran intends setting up consulates in Tajikstan and other republics, adding that while moving toward expanding its relations with sovereign republics, Tehran intends moving within general Soviet-Iranian relations.

Moscow understands this approach. In talks, Eduard Shevardnadze said that republic heads are directly participating in creating Soviet Union foreign policy's new technology. A start to Iran's direct talks with its neighbors in union territory is a source of happiness to the Kremlin.

During 'Ali Akbar Velayati's visit to Moscow, Soviet-Iranian economic cooperation problems were discussed. The two sides discussed ways to activate long-term

commercial-economic and scientific-technical agreements envisaging cooperation until the year 2000. This important document defines the framework of extensive cooperation between Moscow and Tehran in 15 fields of national economy. Special attention is focused on Soviet-Iranian cooperation in the field of [word indistinct], (?environment) research, and [words indistinct] the Soviet Foreign Ministry, a new field of cooperation that can be useful and interesting for both sides.

Afghan POW Releases Expected After New Year

LD0312070891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 2 Dec 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Another Soviet POW—Ilkhom Rykayev—returned home from Afganistan on 17 November. At the news conference devoted to this event, journalists were told that more than 300 Soviet lads are still considered missing in Afganistan. The mujahidin have promised to release a large group of Soviet POW' s for the new year. Their names were not given to keep the mujahidin from increasing the ransom.

Release Depends on Hekmatyar

OW0312130091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1120 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The mujahidin may free a group of Soviet prisoners of war by January 1st, however, one may not talk of this as a certainty. IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent spoke with a high-level diplomat who referred to the joint statement signed in Moscow on the results of the negotiations with a delegation of the Afghan opposition.

Included in this statement was a promise to release a group of Soviet POWs to the USSR by the beginning of next year. This was strengthened by a statement by the leader of the delegation of mujahidin, the head of the Islamic Society in Afghanistan Burkhanuddin Rabbani. It is true, however, that at a press conference in Moscow after negotiations were concluded, he did not want to be more precise as to how many POWs would be released.

The diplomat warns that the promises may not be kept in this case. The problem is that the leader of the strongest opposition group, Golbuddin Hekmatyar, who chose not to go to Moscow for negotiations, feels it necessary to "distance" himself from their results. According to a statement he made, he favors releasing the POWs only once the situation in Afghanistan has been settled. He has let it be known that the main part of Soviet POWs are under the control of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, of which he is the leader, and that the POWs' fate depends on his decision.

Commission for POW's in Afghanistan Planned

OW0112091891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2026 GMT 29 Nov 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature based on report by diplomatic correspondents Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to DP [Diplomatic Panorama] sources, President Mikhail Gorbachev's team is considering the setting up of a commission at the State Council on Soviet war prisoners in Afghanistan. The commission would coordinate the work of various bodies working for the release of the POW's whose number is, according to some estimates, 305. Experts believe, however, that only about 40 of them, held by field commanders, can be properly regarded as war prisoners.

There are some 30-40 who can no longer be considered war prisoners, for they have become assimilated in Afghanistan—they have adopted Islam and have families there now. Most of them come from Central Asia. The experts suggest that all information about them be made public. Their relatives should be allowed to visit them in Afghanistan in order to make sure they are willing to stay in that country. Later on, these people should be allowed to come to the USSR and possibly even be given dual citizenship.

A third group consists of those taking part in hostilities, fighting either government troops or rival detachments within the opposition or having simply joined criminal gangs. The experts think they cannot be expected to return to the USSR in spite of the amnesty that has been announced and believe the relevant Soviet and international bodies should work out a rehabilitation programme for these people, who should be enabled to emigrate from Afghanistan, find work and begin a new life.

However, the majority of those regarded as war prisoners are missing. The experts think all of them (200-250 people) are dead. But the Soviet side knows nothing about the circumstances under which they died or about where they are buried. These are some of the points the commission is expected to clarify.

Iran Denies Holding, Release of Soviet POWs

LD0212100191 Moscow TASS in English 0943 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin; quotation marks as received]

[Text] Tehran December 2 TASS—Iran's Foreign Ministry on Sunday [1 December] refuted the report about the forthcoming release in Tehran of two Soviet prisoners of war held by Afghan rebels.

Last Thursday, the France Presse news agency reported from Peshawar (Pakistan) that "the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan "had announced" its intention to

free two Soviet prisoners of war, currently being held on Iranian territory, in December.

An Iranian Foreign Ministry official, who asked not to be named, told TASS that Iran's Foreign Ministry "had no information on the issue."

"As regards the presence of Soviet prisoners of war on Iranian territory, it is pure invention," he stressed.

Commentary Views U.S. Campaign Against Libya

LD2911223591 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1700 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] We would like to end with the dangerous campaign launched by the United States, Great Britain, and France against Libya under the accusation of involvement in international terrorism—more precisely the crash of two passenger aircraft, one of them belonging to Pan Am, which was downed in Scotland in December 1988, and the second one belonging to UTA, which was downed in 1989.

Washington, London, and Paris have announced they have evidence proving the involvement of the Libyan intelligence service in these two terrorist actions that resulted in the deaths of 400 innocent people. Tripoli, however, denies involvement in these two tragic incidents and refuses to hand over its two accused citizens. In an interview with Tele-Monte Carlo, Mu'ammar Al-Qadhdhafi said Libyan laws did not allow handing over Libyan citizens to the authorities of the United States, Great Britain, or France. The Libyan leader said his country did not have agreements with the United States and Great Britain on handing over Libyans to these two states, with which Libya severed diplomatic relations.

Despite this, the Libyan leadership asked these three Western states to submit copies of the documents that proved the responsibility of its citizens for the crimes. Tripoli has expressed a readiness to assist the international committee in charge of investigating the crash of the two passenger aircraft. It must be said that Libya has grounds for not believing the American investigation bodies. Libya has previously been the victim of armed aggression by the United States and is still the subject of an economic and political blockade by the Western states. This time the United States is threatening Libya with new repressive military actions.

Review of Relations With Libya Urged

PM0312100591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 91 Union Edition p 7

[Article by M. Yusin: "Is Moscow Ready To Take a New Look at al-Qadhdhafi?"]

[Text] So far it is unclear how the conflict [over extradition of presumed culprits in Lockerbie air crash] between the West and the Libyan regime of Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi will develop: Will the matter be restricted to the international trial of presumed terrorists, will economic sanctions be applied against Libya, or (although this seems unlikely today) will the Americans undertake a military action again?

In this situation what position will be taken by our country, which for many years gave patronage to a regime whose odious nature is undoubted by anyone in the civilized world? There were explanations for the special relations with al-Qadhdhafi. Ideological explanations—the Libyan leader had won a reputation as the most implacable fighter against "U.S. imperialism" in the Arab world. Political explanations—Moscow viewed Tripoli as a destabilizing factor on NATO's southern flank. And finally there were economic explanations—until very recently Libya was one of the few Third World countries which paid meticulously in oil and dollars for the generous Soviet arms deliveries.

Our friendship with al-Qadhdhafi was in many ways reminiscent of the close relations with another Arab dictator—Saddam Husayn. That friendship too will soon to all appearances have to be checked for strength. The alliance with Baghdad did not withstand that test. President Gorbachev, faced with a tough choice—the West or Iraq—after anguished hesitation chose the West.

The logic of events dictates that with regard to Colonel al-Qadhdhafi our diplomacy should not display any great indulgence. Especially as the Libyan leader finally undermined his reputation in August by welcoming the advent to power of the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

It is true that the Soviet Union's first reaction gave some foreign commentators grounds for speaking of veiled support for Libya. Although representatives of the Ministry of External Relations categorically disagree with that interpretation. According to one of them, Moscow "is fighting for a balanced approach, is seeking to prevent the emergence of a new hotbed of tension in the region, and is hoping somewhat to cool the ardor of the Americans and British, but resolutely rejects terrorism in all its manifestations."

Is the Soviet Union today prepared to take a new look at al-Qadhdhafi's regime, the link with which discredits us in the eyes of the world? Or will the inertia of the thinking of representatives of the old diplomatic school accustomed to gearing themselves to Near East dictators and defending friendly regimes from obvious charges of connivance with terrorism yet again gain the upper hand?

It is not ruled out that soon the question of international sanctions against Libya will be discussed in the UN Security Council. I want to believe that our country will not adopt a "special stance" and will not want to complicate relations with the West for the sake of highly dubious dividends from the alliance with al-Qadhdhafi.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Smirnov Views Restoration of RSA Relations

LD3011094691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1730 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Interview with Aleksandr Smirnov, official of the Soviet Foreign Ministry African Department, with unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Smirnov] During the visit of South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha to Moscow, as a result of his talks with his Soviet colleague Boris Pankin, the two sides have agreed to restore consular relations that were broken off at South Africa's initiative in 1956. We consider it a step in the right direction, and not only because the interest of the two countries in each other has grown. Such a growth of reciprocal interest is quite natural considering long years of alienation. The two countries rapidly developed nonofficial contacts, exchanging groups of businessmen, scientists, and artists. Meanwhile the issuing of visas for a trip to the Soviet Union or to South Africa is quite a complicated procedure. So in the interests of people-to-people contacts it's been decide to open consulate offices in Moscow and Pretoria, and the two sides are considering the issue of opening consulate-generals somewhat later. In all probability, the South African consulate will operate in Petersburg and the Soviet one in Cape Town.

The restoration of consular relations is a natural move, and it has been prompted by experience. Some people, however, think that it will be automatically followed by the establishment of diplomatic relations. As for the Soviet side, we don't think that this should be done automatically, although of course the establishment of diplomatic relations is not a remote prospect. Yet such a political move is too important not to link it with concrete measures in the sphere of political settlement in South Africa.

[Correspondent] Could you elaborate?

[Smirnov] What I mean is the creation of some transitional machinery in government in South Africa, or the beginning of work to draft a new constitution for that country. Diplomatic relations with South Africa can be established only as a reply to concrete changes in the policy of its government towards the country's non-white majority. At the same time, the development of bilateral relations in a whole number of areas is something considered impossible until recently. In other words, we recognize that South Africa carries out major positive changes and we support them. In this sense we follow the example of the international community which proposes a stage-by-stage development of relations with South Africa, and a stage-by-stage abolition of sanctions against it. At their recent summit in Harare, the Commonwealth countries decided to establish contacts with South Africa in the humanitarian sphere and partly in sports. We're not going to stay aside of this process either.

[Correspondent] It's a known fact, however, that the Soviet Union hasn't passed any official decisions on sanctions. How is it going to lift them?

[Smirnov] I would call it a separate issue. As you probably remember, we simply did not have any trade relations with South Africa beginning with 1956. Since the United Nations Organization adopted its decision on sanctions much later, we naturally did not need to introduce any legal acts on the matter as for example the United States did. Today the Americans have abolished those laws, enabling their businessmen to resume activity in South Africa. We didn't have such laws, so we have nothing to abolish. All we have is our signature under the international convention against apartheid in sports, and incidentally this document remains valid. But today, we have a chance to realistically assess the prospects of cooperation with the richest state of the continent. For example, we can effectively cooperate on the world's markets of raw materials. For that matter businessmen of our two countries already make on-the-spot studies of the situation, probing into areas where they cooperate with utmost effect. We've already established first concrete contacts. South Africa has developed an interesting technology to process radioactive soil. We used this technology in eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster, and we're thankful to South Africa for its aid. Yet there are spheres where the application of sanctions remains mandatory. These are first of all nuclear power engineering, military technologies, and the operating embargo on oil shipments. The United Nations Assembly has not yet lifted its ban on cooperation in the three areas. In the rest, we shall comply our moves with political processes in South Africa.

[Correspondent] I think there is one more aspect of cooperation with South Africa. Many of our former Soviet republics begin to pursue an independent policy on the foreign scene, including with a regard to South Africa. What will happen if their foreign departments decide to ignore recommendations given by the central Foreign Ministry?

[Smirnov] There is such a risk of course, but on the other hand the former Soviet republics do not exist in a vacuum, and they cannot ignore response to their moves from the South African public, from their own public, or from the world public in general. Of course, it should not be ruled out that they will be able to carry out some radical measures faster than the central government and some slower. Everything will depend on their real potentialities. Anyway, I personally don't see any danger in this, since the current reforms in South Africa are irreversible, and the richest state of the African continent is gradually becoming a full-fledged member of the international community.

Commentary Views Diplomatic Ties With RSA

MB3011135591 Moscow Radio Moscow in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Ivan Ivanov commentary read by announcer]

[Text] At the end of December, on his way to Tokyo, South African President Mr. F.W. de Klerk will stop in Moscow.

I think this will be an excellent opportunity to establish diplomatic ties. You will remember that the recent visit by the South African minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, culminated in the establishing of consular relations between the USSR and South Africa which had ceased in 1956.

Consular relations are, of course, a step forward in the USSR's years-long strict boycott of South Africa, Ivan Ivanov continues. Yet an analysis of relations between the two countries clearly shows that six years of perestroyka were not enough to necessitate cooperation.

Mr. de Klerk's government which came into power in 1990 has distanced itself from apartheid and initiated an impressive reform program. He lifted all discriminatory laws and unbanned the African National Congress [ANC], the South African Communist Party, and all the other opposition movements. Dialogue with the ANC and other organizations representing the country's black majority began.

South Africa is currently on her way to a new constitution. It is for this reason that the United States and members of the European Community and many African states support the reforms and have departed from their policy of sanctions and boycotts.

Now is the time for us too to follow this example. Russia and South Africa's national interests point toward cooperation. For instance, there is a striking coincidence regarding minerals in our countries. Besides, Russia and South Africa both have a so-called control package in the world production of gold, platinum, diamonds, and many other rare minerals and metals.

Both Mr. Botha and South African experts speak of the excellent prospects for economic cooperation. The South African experts have outlined many areas where cooperation will be possible: mining, technology, processing of raw materials, finance and comunication. Corporation workers have shown interest in Soviet mining technology, our equipment, and technology experts.

In this regard, Mr. Michael Spicer, director of the Anglo American Corporation, stated that after the South African economy has recovered from the current recession, additional qualified staff will be retained and we will be able to commence exchanging specialists.

But it will not happen quickly, concludes Ivan Ivanov. One of the most serious problems is the mutual ignorance of the situation, the lack of objective information, the information which still has to be provided, and economic contacts which have to be encouraged.

West Europe

Gorbachev Receives Berlin Mayor Diepgen

LD0212162391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1452 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Krolikov]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Dec (TASS)—A conversation began in the Kremlin this evening between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and Eberhard Diepgen, ruling mayor of Berlin and prominent Christian Democratic Union figure. The guest is in Moscow at the invitation of the Moscow mayor's office.

It is expected that matters of economic cooperation between the two countries will be discussed during the meeting. Eberhard Diepgen attaches great significance to the restoration of the close economic ties which have existed between Moscow and East Berlin and to the continuation of direct deals between the two cities' enterprises, a point he has made on more than one occasion.

Shows 'Great Interest'

LD0212190191 Berlin ADN in German 1804 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Excerpt] Moscow (ADN)—Berlin Mayor Eberhard Diepgen was received in the Kremlin in Moscow by Soviet President Gorbachev today. As Diepgen told ADN after the meeting, Gorbachev "showed great interest in how Berlin has developed since unification and how the process of growing together in the city is going." Gorbachev showed particular interest in the question of how Berlin is coping psychologically and socially. According to Diepgen, the 45-minute talk centered on the problem of how the future Union will develop. Gorbachev indicated that he was "basically" optimistic about the cohesion of the Union. He saw no reasonable alternative to it. Gorbachev expects that the signing of the Union treaty would come about.

As Gorbachev's press spokesman Andrey Grachev added, the president stressed to Diepgen that he sees no obstacle to this process in the Ukraine's independence. The independence of the republics would, moreover, give them the opportunity freely to decide on everything concerning their participation in the future Union of Sovereign States.

Following the talk in the Kremlin, Diepgen met with Gennadiy Burbulis, first deputy chairman of the Russian Government. Burbulis assured that the farewell to the communist regime was not lip-service, but had been proven by specific economic reforms. [passage omitted]

France Cited on Nuclear Conference Proposal

LD0212184991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Dec 91

[From TASS foreign news roundup]

[Text] Paris [no date as received]—The French proposal to convene a conference of the four powers which have nuclear weapons in Europe (the USSR, United States, Great Britain, and France) is "more topical than ever" now, after the referendum in the Ukraine, said Maurice Gourdault-Montagne, official spokesman for the [French] Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Gourdault-Montagne noted that the matter of the Ukraine's independence will be examined at a meeting of the "twelve" in Brussels and stressed that the Ukraine's right to self-determination will be respected, but the matter of recognizing its independence will be dealt with together by the European Community countries.

Roundtable Held on French Military Conversion

OW2911014891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1946 GMT 28 Nov 91

[From "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Joint Soviet-French plans in the area of the peaceful conversion of the military industry were discussed during a three day visit to Moscow by Jean Gillieboeuf, Head of the Central Service for Military-Industrial Affairs. The main partner at the talks—the Scientific Industrial Union, which brings together a large number of the establishments in the Soviet military-industrial complex—proposed some 50 specific projects, but did not go into details on them. At present there are some 10 joint ventures in the USSR working in the field of military conversion.

In the course of his visit Jean Gillieboeuf visited a number of defence establishments including Antei, Spektr, Vympel and Telekom. The Soviet military industrial complex has recently felt a sharp reduction in orders for the military, and industrial closures could soon leave 2 mn [million] people unemployed, said Anatoliy Funtikov, a high official in the USSR Ministry of Defence. According to Mr Funtikov, the need for the rapid conversion of military enterprises is causing a considerable problem. Thus, in most countries only about 2-5% of the military industry needs to be converted, whereas many of the Soviet military industrial establishments need to convert from 30% to 80% of their production.

Further on Roundtable

PM0212155991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[Colonel A. Belousov report: "The Form That Conversion Should Take"]

[Text] This was a difficult question for participants in the Soviet-French roundtable held at the USSR Science and Industry Union. Representatives of state organs responsible for military industrial questions and defense ministries and directors of major associations and firms took part in the discussion. A. Kulakov, chairman of the USSR Science and Industry Union Permanent Committee on Conversion Questions, noted that at present consumer goods account for about 55 percent of production in the country's defense complex and this figure will rise by a further 10 percent by 1995, but this process is proving painful. It is necessary to study world experience in the area of conversion, especially French experience, and use it as far as possible.

In our country, Major General of Technical Services Jean Gillieboeuf, leader of the French military-industrial delegation, said there are around 4,000 enterprises, including small ones, which are working for defense. There are 255,000 people employed in this sector. From 1984 through 1994, 100,000 jobs must be axed. This is a complex social process and it is being resolved not only by enterprises themselves but also by the state. For example, it is buying equipment for the development of new production units and is giving financial support to redundant workers.

As for our country, this year alone 380,000 jobs have been cut in structures of the military-industrial complex and for that reason the general directors of major industrial associations like Antey, Kometa, and Vympel paid paramount attention at the meeting to questions of workers' social protection. Together with French industrialists representing Thomson, SNECMA, Aerospatiale, and other firms specializing in the sphere of aviation, space equipment, and control and communications systems, forms of cooperation were outlined in general terms.

A. Funtikov, first deputy chief of armaments of the USSR Defense Ministry, submitted for examination by the roundtable participants proposals on the deepening of conversion in conditions of Armed Forces reduction and the scaling down of the amount of direct financing of defense orders.

KGB Offers Offices to Foreign Intelligence

LD3011134691 Berlin ADN in German 1250 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—The Soviet secret service, the KGB, is offering offices to the Federal Intelligence Service and the Office for the Protection of the Constitution in its Moscow headquarters, according to a report in the newspaper BILD AM SONNTAG. General Aleksandr Karbaynov, press spokesman for Vadim Bakatin, the new head of the secret service, told the newspaper that the KGB "of course, wants to have a permanent representative in Germany too. It works with the CIA anyway."

These days, the KGB does not serve a party "but exclusively human rights," Karbaynov said in the interview. "Above all, we want to prevent violence in the country." Western observers should also convince themselves of this. The Germans in particular can ascertain on the spot that "we are not giving continued employment to former Stasi people." Asked about Hans-Joachim Tiedge, the defector from the

Cologne Office for the Protection of the Constitution, Karbaynov said: "Certainly no German is working in the German department of the KGB. We would be compromising ourselves."

The KGB is "seriously overestimated" by the West, Karbaynov said. He said only 39,000 secret servicemen are now working for the central KGB. One in six of them—mostly people with long service—will have to leave by the end of the year. Another 6,500 officers will go to the independent republics.

(The interview was prereleased.)

Security Service Denies Report

LD0212184191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1710 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 2 Dec (TASS)—Today the public relations center of the Inter-Republican Security Service denied a report carried by the BILD AM SONNTAG German newspaper to the effect that the Inter-Republican Security Service has allegedly set aside premises in one of its buildings in Lubyanka for foreign intelligence services, and is offering to lease them in exchange for office areas in headquarters of foreign special services.

Also denied was the report prepared on this basis by the "Vesti" television program to the effect that missions of American and German special services have already been opened within the Inter-Republican Security Service. At the same time the public relations center stressed that the Inter-Republican Security Service "is always coming out in favor of establishing cooperation with Western special services, especially in the sphere of fight against terrorism, drug-dealings, and smuggling." The official talks on this subject between a USSR KGB delegation and representatives of the U.S. CIA and FBI held last November in Washington "provide grounds to believe that the process of establishing cooperation is entering a practical framework," the report of the public relations center says.

Genscher Briefs Shevardnadze on EC, Ukraine

LD0312163891 Moscow TASS in English 0903 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—"German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher acquainted Eduard Shevardnadze during a telephone talk on Monday [2 December] with the contents of the statement adopted by members of the European Community in connection with the referendum on the Ukraine," it was announced here by the information directorate of the USSR Ministry for External Relations.

The two ministers agreed to continue the exchange of views on processes in the Soviet Union.

Lobov Leads Military Delegation to UK

LD0312103991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2030 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] A Soviet military delegation led by Vladimir Lobov, chief of the USSR General Staff, has arrived in Great Britain. Here is a report from Aleksandr Malikov with details.

[Malikov] It has to be said that the military of both countries do not visit each other very often. It has been nearly two and a half years since a Soviet military delegation paid its last visit at this level to Great Britain. Judging by the program of the visit of the Soviet military delegation, the glasnost of the hosts has its limits. The British are ready to show Vladimir Lobov the dock where a nuclear submarine of the next generation of the "Trident" class will be based, but not the submarine itself.

Anyway, the Soviet military delegation has arrived in the British Isles not to peep through a hole in a fence. Though the changes which are taking place within the British Armed Forces are far from being as dramatic and on as large a scale as those in the Soviet Armed Forces, the British experience in improving the mobility of the Army and cutting the strength of some units is of indisputable value. Having shown to the Soviet guests some things and having shared with them something, the British generals naturally expect to get answers to the questions which have been accumulated by NATO and in the West as a whole.

One need not be a prophet to foretell that the whole complex of problems connected with the state independence of the Ukraine is of acute concern. What will be the strength of the army on its territory? How is it going to comply with the provisions of the treaty on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe which was signed by the Soviet Union in Paris a couple of years ago? Whose fingers will be on the control panel of the nuclear missiles on Ukrainian territory? What will be the fate of the Black Sea Fleet?

It is obvious that so far only theoretical generalized answers can be given to all these questions, which would not necessarily coincide with practice. But for Great Britain as well as for other Western countries this lack of clarity is causing a delay in recognizing the Ukraine as a new diplomatic partner and a neighbor in the European home.

Anyway, from now on the Ukraine itself will be speaking on behalf of the Ukraine. The situation is evidently becoming more complicated for Western politicians and the military. Let those listening to me excuse me this free comparison, but whereas before the West had to deal with a single neighboring family, now it will have to deal with a husband and a wife undergoing divorce proceedings. That's why it will be needed to traverse a long and difficult path toward trust, including in the military sphere.

Latin America & Caribbean

'No Concrete Results' in Talks With Cuba

LD3011035791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0210 GMT 30 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Sereda]

[Excerpts] Havana, 30 Nov (TASS)—Roving Ambassador Vyacheslav Ustinov, who headed the Soviet delegation to the talks here regarding the withdrawal of the Soviet training brigade from Cuba, departed for Moscow on Friday evening. [passage omitted]

Although it was thought that Ustinov could possibly hold additional meetings and conversations with the Cuban side, he did not make any statements to this effect before he left.

Thus, the first round of talks on the Soviet training brigade's withdrawal from the island may be considered ended. Judging from the absence of official statements from both the Soviet and the Cuban sides, no concrete results have yet been achieved. At the same time, the position of the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Cuban leadership is basically quite clear: Havana favors a situation in which the withdrawal of our brigade is carried out simultaneously with the elimination of the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo, which has occupied Cuban territory at the eastern end of the island since 1903. Cuban leader Fidel Castro has frequently stated that he does not agree with the idea of Cuba's friends leaving while its enemies remain on its territory against the will of the Cuban people.

Taking into account the lack of results on the outcome of the first round of talks, it is quite likely that the level of the delegations will have to be raised in order for them to be continued successfully. [passage omitted]

Ustinov Cited on Guantanamo

OW0212212091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1945 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During the first round of the Soviet-Cuban talks on the withdrawal of the Soviet military-training brigade, which has just ended in Havana, the two sides had a substantive exchange of views on the problem, Ambassador at Large Vyacheslav Ustinov, who heads the Soviet delegation, said in an exclusive interview with IF [INTERFAX] on Monday.

He said it was a "normal negotiating process, although it was not without problems", among them Cuba's efforts to link the withdrawal of the Soviet contingent with the elimination of the American military base, Guantanamo. Mr. Ustinov said that although the delegation "was trying to solve both of these problems, it did not see any historical connection between them". The problem of Guantanamo, said Mr. Ustinov, did not come about as a result of our relations with Cuba. It goes back to the beginning of the century and is "regulated by corresponding agreements between Cuba and the U.S.".

Mr. Ustinov referred to the precedents in Greece and the Philippines, whereby a similar problem was tackled on the basis of bilateral agreements.

In December or in January, the talks on the Soviet military presence in Cuba will be continued either in Havana or in Moscow, said Mr. Ustinov.

Koshkin Commentary on Withdrawal

LD2811234991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1610 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Commentary by Sergey Koshkin]

[Text] The Soviet-Cuban talks opened in Havana on the 15th [November]. When Moscow took the decision to withdraw the Soviet training brigade numbering some 3,000 men from Cuba it did not link this issue with the problem of the United States military Guantanamo base in Cuba. True, the Soviet Union believed the United States would take steps in response to lower tensions around Cuba. At the first stage this might be cuts in the American troops on the Guantanamo base, less frequent calls of the American naval ships and advanced warning about manoeuvres. Havana linked withdrawal of the Soviet training brigade with the problem of the American naval base from the start. These are hard talks. Recently an opinion appeared that the talks had bogged down. Among other news media the Soviet independent INTERFAX agency carried such a message. The departure of the Soviet delegation from Havana must have given rise to these speculations, but the departure doesn't mean the failure of the talks. The head of the delegation, the Soviet Ambassador at Large Vyacheslav Ustinov, continues consultations. The member of the Cuban Communist Party Politburo Carlos Aldana and Deputy Foreign Minister Alcibiades Hidalgo have told reporters that the talks are going on. The Soviet Embassy in Havana has confirmed this statement and believes that sincere searches for a compromise will soon be continued at full scale talks. There is a hope a compromise will finally be found.

Ties With Cuba Viewed; Chernavin Cited

LD0212190691 Moscow Radio Moscow in Spanish to Spain 2200 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] In recent times the economic collaboration between Moscow and Havana has undergone certain changes, changes equally valid for the military sphere. As is known, in September this year the withdrawal was announced from Cuba of a Soviet military training brigade quartered in the island since many years ago. Without entering into details about the objectives and

tasks which this brigade fulfilled, I will dwell solely on the course of events following this decision.

The Cuban side accepted it in rather negative terms, directly linking this question with the problem of the U.S. Guantanamo military base on Cuban territory. But Moscow started from the wish to lessen the tension with regard to the island, and expressed the hope for measures in response from the United States. In a first stage these could consist of the reduction of the contingent of U.S. troops at its Guantanamo base, in the reduction of the entry of naval ships, and in prior notification of any maneuvers they hold.

The Soviet-Cuban talks on the withdrawal of the brigade began in Havana on 15 November. It should be stressed that they were not easy. The commander-in-chief of the Soviet Navy, Admiral Vladimir Chernavin, recently returned from a tour of Cuba. Assessing Soviet- Cuban military collaboration, he said:

[Begin Chernavin recording in Russian, fading into Spanish translation] The visit I paid to Cuba was of an official character. The Soviet Union and Cuba have been linked by good relations for a long time, among them relations via the Ministry of Defense and the Navy. Notwithstanding certain changes in our relations, representatives of the Cuban leadership assured me that they are interested in continuing cooperation with the Soviet Union. [end recording]

Statement With U.S. Issued on El Salvador

LD0212143691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0700 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 2 Dec (TASS)—The USSR Ministry of External Relations circulated a Soviet-U.S. statement on El Salvador today. It says:

"Having examined the situation developing at the talks on a peaceful settlement of the crisis situation in El Salvador, the USSR Ministry of External Relations and the U.S. State Department have agreed on the following joint statement:

"The efforts made by the opposing sides over the course of this year aimed at ending the armed confrontation and at securing conditions under which all Salvadorans will be guaranteed equal and nondiscriminatory participation in internal processes, have made it possible to make a number of important decisions. They provide real prospects for concluding agreements in the immediate future on ending the protracted conflict in that Central American country.

"Of particularly great importance have been the accords reached at the April and September rounds of talks between representatives of the government of El Salvador and the leadership of the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] which were held in Mexico City and New York respectively, and to the holding of which a substantial contribution was made by UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and Alvaro de Soto, his personal representative at the talks.

"The creation of favorable conditions for the success of the further meeting between representatives of the government and the FMLN currently under way in Mexico has been fostered by steps recently taken by both sides to end offensive combat operations. The USSR and the United States consider it important that both the government and the FMLN should observe the obligations they have assumed for maintaining the constructive approach that has taken shape. The USSR and the United States resolutely urge the Salvadoran sides and the United Nations to make every effort to achieve, before the end of this year, the aims which the participants in the talks are setting themselves: to agree on remaining unresolved issues, to reach agreement on a cease-fire under international control, and to set about implementing measures aimed at national reconciliation. They note the urgent need for a cease-fire under UN control for consolidating the progress that has been achieved and for a final end to the conflict. "The USSR and the United States declare their intention to continue to render every support to a peaceful solution of the crisis situation in El Salvador. They appeal to all interested states and also to the United Nations to do everything in their power for the sake of the fastest possible achievements of those aims".

Chilean Envoy Comments on Honecker Reports

OW0312124091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1120 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent was told at the Chilean embassy in Moscow that its government's stand toward Erich Honecker remained unchanged. As it is, the former East German leader will be allowed to enter Chile only when he produces a passport duly issued by the German authorities.

The embassy official interviewed by IF's correspondent said he doesn't know whether his ambassador Clodomiro Almeyda had met with Honecker's wife Margot or not, and whether he gave consent to Honecker's coming to Chile for Christmas, as some German publications had said.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits Peru

Association Formed

LD3011120791 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Fyodorov]

[Text] Lima November 29 TASS—A delegation of Soviet parliamentarians is visiting Peru. It is headed by Yuriy Voronezhtsev, deputy chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Soviet delegation took part in a presentation of the Peruvian-Soviet Inter-parliamentary Association held here on Thursday [28 November]. 85 parliamentarians participate in the association from the Peruvian side. The association's purpose is to develop and strengthen ties between the two countries in various areas. German Escalante Bolanos, vice-president of the Senate of the Peruvian congress, was elected the association's president.

Democratic transformations in the Soviet Union became possible largely due to the activity of deputies of the Supreme Soviet, who express the will of the people, German Escalante told TASS. This is why cooperation between Peruvian and Soviet parliamentarians can give a fresh impetus to relations between the two countries, he said.

Soviet legislators visited Peru during the delegation's tour of a number of South American countries.

Ends Visit 29 Nov

LD0112164591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0835 GMT 30 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Konstantin Zhukovskiy]

[Summary] Lima, 30 Nov (TASS)—A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by Yuriy Vorontsev, deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union, left Peru for home on 29 November after a visit at the invitation of the Peruvian Congress. During the visit they met Peruvian parliamentarians, and met acting President Maximo San Roman and members of the Cabinet of Ministers. The Soviet side spoke about the situation in the USSR. The delegation had visited Peru before.

Supreme Soviet

Gorbachev Issues Appeal on Union Treaty

LD0312104891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1025 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Aleksandr Dzyublo]

[Text] Moscow 3 Dec (TASS)—The draft treaty on the Union of Sovereign States, the future of which is a central issue in the country's political life, was submitted today for examination by the Soviet of Republics (upper house) of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

A week ago, the latest version of the treaty was discussed at the State Council and sent for discussion to the Union and republican parliaments.

"Your decision," states an appeal from Mikhail Gorbachev to the country's parliamentarians, circulated among deputies, "will either bring society closer toward reaching new forms of life, or our peoples will be doomed for a long time and, perhaps, hopelessly to disentangle themselves on their own."

On the whole, while advocating the Union, deputies are at the same time proposing a number of amendments and additions to the future treaty. As was noted by the Russian representative, Sergey Shakhray, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic state counsellor, one cannot fail to take account of the changed situation, especially the referendum and elections held in the Ukraine. And so all means have to be used to retain the Union, he stressed.

It is expected that at the conclusion of the debates, an appeal will be adopted from the Soviet of Republics to the parliaments of the sovereign states of the former Union.

Also on the agenda of today's session is the question of the main guidelines for the activity of the Union Supreme Soviet's upper chamber during the transitional period and voting on the draft law on reorganising the country's state security organs.

Alimzhanov Comments on Ukrainian Vote, Union

LD0212183791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Dec 91

[From the "New Wave" program]

[Text] "If the ballot confirms that the Ukraine is leaving the USSR, our Union will fall apart," believes Anuarbek Alimzhanov, chairman of the Soviet of the Republics of the USSR Supreme Soviet. At the same time, he sees the principle task of the parliament's upper chamber as imparting an impetus to the signing of the treaty on a Union of Sovereign States. Regarding press comments that the current Supreme Soviet is superfluous, the chamber's chairman said that the parliament is fully capable and is becoming such an indispensable structure in interrepublican relations that the transitional period is unimaginable without it.

Deputies Debate Emergency Budget

PM0212143791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Parliamentary correspondent Robert Minasov report: "First Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet: Frontal Attack on Russians Who Reject A Budget Which Does Not Exist"]

[Text] The Kremlin—Something that could be described as a benefit performance for ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA took place at yesterday's joint morning session of both USSR Supreme Soviet chambers. Several parliamentarians participating in the debate on the draft Emergency Budget for 1991, which started 27 November, mentioned the newspaper from various perspectives.

The speech by Georgiy Tarazevich, member of the Soviet of the Republics Committee for Budgets and Finances, set the tone of the polemics raging around what is essentially a non-existent, mythical budget—all the credits (the initial 68 billion, plus the 90 billion requested for the fourth quarter) have already been spent, so the issue revolves only around the increase in future emissions.

He began by citing an excerpt from an article entitled "No More Union Finance Ministry, So Talks Can Begin," which was published a few days ago in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. In the speaker's opinion, the article reflected the stance taken by the Russian leadership whose desire is to bring all the other republics to their knees through its nonparticipation (as he put it) in the emergency budget. Tarazevich urged the Russian deputation in the Union parliament to support the draft to prevent a further exacerbation of social tension in society. He announced that the Union budget quarterly deficit stands at over 90 billion, which means that the credit requested is meant to cover this shortfall.

Representatives from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan also expressed support for the draft budget and also called for a show of concern for ordinary people, as there is no money with which to pay them. Here, too, reference was made to ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, which reported the Russian deputation's intransigent position on the question of the draft emergency budget in its 28 November issue.

Vladimir Lukin, deputy chairman of the upper chamber and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee, took the floor and stressed that he is expressing his own opinions and not the collective viewpoint. Vladimir Petrovich noted that he is not satisfied with that part of the draft emergency budget which covers military expenditure. This is a heavy burden. Expenditure had increased by 12 billion. Thus,

appropriations for military requirements comprise 35 percent of the entire budget. Thus, tactically we are dealing with the budget of a country at war. So, Lukin asked, with whom are we at war?

He proposed a freeze on purchases of military hardware, and a reduction in expenditure on military capital construction and nuclear weapons. At the same time, Lukin recommended an increase in expenditure on the social needs of servicemen and their families.

Deputy Vladimir Samarin's speech boiled down to saying that all the blame for the huge Union budget deficit lies with those republics which have not honored their contributions to the budget—Russia, the Ukraine, the Baltic republics. Russia alone, the speaker said indignantly, owed the exchequer some 32 billion. Hence the conclusion: Samarin persistently repeated that any decision adopted by parliament must include a separate provision—to ensure that those sovereign republics which were still in debt would honor their contributions. That is, it has to be understood that this is mandatory! "We are, after all, the Supreme Soviet!", the speaker stressed, allowing himself in passing to attack ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA: "Always ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's favorite target...."

Yuriy Chernichenko's arguments appeared far more weighty. "Senior officials at the State Bank and Finance Ministry assure us that the people need banknotes. This is not true! The people need goods." The huge deficit is the result of the earlier activity of the state apparatus. In the emergency budget, just like in the old budgets, the military-industrial complex is solidly upholding its positions.

After the 90-minute discussion, Soviet of the Republics Chairman Anuarbek Alimzhanov proposed a one-hour recess to elaborate an acceptable solution to the question under discussion.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Discusses Elections, Democracy, Union

Congratulates Kravchuk, Nazarbayev

LD0212191191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1830 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krolikov and Nikolay Zheleznov]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Dec (TASS)—The strengthening of the independence and sovereignty of the republics constituting our former Union does not restrict their freedom of maneuver and their conscious choice in decision-making regarding the future Union of Sovereign States. This is how Mikhail Gorbachev assessed Sunday's [1 December] referendum and presidential elections in the Ukraine and also the presidential elections in Kazakhstan.

During his meeting this evening with Eberhard Diepgen, mayor of Berlin, the USSR president at the request of his guest dwelt on the progress toward a Union treaty in the light of these elections. He said that he had discussed all these issues with Leonid Kravchuk and Nursultan Nazarbayev over the telephone today when congratulating them on their election.

Mikhail Gorbachev again stressed that he believes that the most effective way of resolving the problems of the Union and its peoples to be not separation but a redistribution of powers, and democratic renewal of Union structures so that they are based on the full and unrestricted sovereignty of the members of the future Union. It is important, stressed the USSR president, that we take into account the realities that have formed during more than a millenium of history. This will enable us to pay a lesser rather than greater price for the transition by our state to a new democratic quality. Taking account of these realities, he noted, will mean that we are orientating ourselves to meet the true interests of the people of our entire country.

'Foundation' of New Union

LD0212212691 Berlin ADN in German 2045 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev discussed the results of the referendum on Ukrainian independence and the outcome of the Ukrainian presidential election with his foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, on Monday [2 December] evening. As the Russian news agency RIA heard, Gorbachev was said to be not inclined to view the overwhelming vote for Ukrainian independence as proof that the republic wants to separate itself from the Union. He was said on the contrary to be of the opinion that the achievement of independence by the Ukraine and other republics "can form the foundation upon which the new Union can rest." As RIA continued, the office of the Soviet president is said to view the "balanced attitude" of the U.S. Administration on the issue of the recognition of the Ukraine as positive.

'No Way Back' From Reforms

LD0312051691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0434 GMT 3 Dec 91

["Mikhail Gorbachev on the Past Putsch and on a Possible Putsch (Interview by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA)"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—Returning to the tragic August days, Mikhail Gorbachev, in a conversation with well-known journalist Yuriy Shchekochkin, which will be published in the pages of a forthcoming issue of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, notes that the topic of a putsch used to crop up all the time before then, as well. He recalls telephone calls from leaders of foreign countries, and in particular, from G. Bush, who reported: Information is reaching us that there will be a coup.

In Mikhail Gorbachev's opinion, he fulfilled his mission: Society already is such that any attempt at a coup was doomed. And that is why he thought: "If those who intend to carry out a coup have even a grain of common sense, even from the position of their own selfish interests, they should have calculated everything five or six steps ahead in order to realize that they would be disgraced and crushingly defeated."

The president notes that today also "there are some who are expecting a new putsch and perhaps are even organizing one. Someone from the MIC [Military-Industrial Complex], someone from the party structures. So the conclusion is: just press ahead, because there is no way back for us. The reforms must be pushed ahead and pushed ahead systematically. And it is of particular importance to give workers the opportunity to prove themselves at large state enterprises. They said to me recently: Unless you do that, we once again will be on the sidelines and it will not be an August putsch, but it will be much worse. What are they speaking of? Give us and cooperative workers as well the opportunity to dispose of our labor. Well, we are going toward that now."

Task 'To Advance Democratic Processes'

LD0312022491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0137 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—Considering the ways to democracy in a conversation with well-known journalist Yuriy Shchekochikhin, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev notes, in particular, that it was his plan that for the first time in the entire centuries' long history of our country that turning-points should occur without bloodshed.

The president's conversation with the journalist is published on the pages of the forthcoming issue of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA.

Everything must be done today to ensure that matters do not go as far as large-scale bloodshed, Mikhail Gorbachev notes. Therefore, my task, he says, is to advance democratic processes, and the most important thing is to ensure that the people join in these processes. Yes, things are difficult today what with one thing and another, and yet another, but we must not lose what we have been straining at for so long and have not been able to force our way through to. That is to say, to oxygen, to spiritual struggle, to political freedom, to that with which a real person begins. To that atmosphere in which values are realized, principles by which a person realizes himself as an individual. Yes, order is needed, but not the order the men of the State Committee for the State of Emergency wanted. No, people no longer want to give up that which they have acquired, the president notes.

Emphasizes Need To Keep Union

PM0312104791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Unattributed report on interview with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev by Belorussian newspaper NARODNAYA GAZETA: "Mikhail Gorbachev: Creation of a Union of Sovereign States Is the Main Priority in Politics"]

[Text] USSR President M. Gorbachev gave an interview the other day to journalists from the Belarus [Belorussia] newspaper NARODNAYA GAZETA. Over the last six years he has not often had occasion to converse directly with Soviet journalists. Today, however, the situation is different and evidently requires the president to change his priorities somewhat. Moreover, the main topic of the conversation indicates what is of most concern to M. Gorbachev.

The most important issue is statehood, the president believes, the creation of a Union of Sovereign States. In his opinion, if we err in solving this, the principal issue, if we disagree in elaborating positions, we will inflict a colossal blow on all the transformations, we will bury what already has been done and, generally speaking, place the peoples of all the republics and all countries in a difficult position.

"Everything that has been happening in our country has so far been happening on the periphery of the state, and can be considered insignificant conflicts. But compared with the catastrophe which might occur, even the Yugoslavian tragedy, which already has resulted in numerous deaths and the destruction of many valuables and losses running into billions, pales into insignificance. Therefore, we should not tear up a fabric that was formed over the centuries. We must not succumb to the pressure of individual forces which do not account for their own actions," M. Gorbachev stated.

"I am a staunch supporter of changes, but in evading one extreme—unitarianism—we must not arrive at chaos or the disintegration of the Union," the president believes. "This threatens us with irreparable disaster."

The preservation of the Union, Mikhail Gorbachev believes, does not impede the new role of the republics in implementing their national interests. A coordinated foreign policy with broad freedom of action for the republics in economic questions and in tackling social problems—this is a progressive formula.

Reforms must be carried out, but carried out concertedly, through the efforts of all the republics, he stated. This concerns the mechanism for arriving at free prices, for taxes, and for much else. Each republic will have its own nuances. These cannot be avoided, but there also should be a common line.

Mikhail Gorbachev confessed during his time at the helm of state he had committed tactical errors, but that he always had been, and remains, devoted to the chosen

political course of reforms. He rejected accusations leveled at him of "wrecking the country and destroying socialism," describing them as provocation. The world in which we live had in any case grown ripe for changes of global dimensions.

To this it also should be added that a totalitarian regime was functioning in our state which crushed spiritual, economic, and political freedom and democracy. All the more reason why everything had to be galvanized in such a country; it was good that we began from the top. Even so everything turned out not to be so straightforward. And now people must realize: Even if things are hard, we must not allow an avalanche of discontent. Otherwise we will get a situation which will turn into a colossal disaster. If we stand firm and do not go off the rails, then we can consider that in this complex society we have escaped with minimal losses. But if the other approach prevails, we will be faced with a massive civil conflict.

"I am for self-determination within the Union," Mikhail Gorbachev said. "We already are beginning to realize that here and there we have 'pressed too hard,' and we must conserve our collaboration, because these rifts are costing us dear."

"For me, the main thing now, at this crucial stage is to devote all my efforts to the preservation of our state, I mean precisely our state," he said. "Even as things stand, we already have been engulfed by confusion and chaos, and we are fed up to the back teeth with it. And we can even now still cope with it. But we will not cope if we lose time and do not decide the question of the state. Therefore, for me this is now the most important thing. My vital choice already has been made."

Democratic Reform Movement Discusses Events

Laptev Comments on Gorbachev

LD0212175791 Budapest MTI in English 1717 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, December 2 (MTI)—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev can stay in office for two more weeks at most, after the Ukraine's secession dealt the last blow to the Union, Ivan Laptev, leader of the Democratic Reform Movement, an organization currently preparing for its founding congress, said to MTI today.

Up until this autumn, Laptev had been chairman for one of the houses of the Soviet parliament.

"Knowing the results of the Ukraine referendum, we are faced with the question of whether we need a powerless federal president or the sovereign republics are able to come to terms between themselves concerning former Soviet properties, the control of nuclear weapons and foreign debt. In case the republics are capable of doing this, Gorbachev can stay in office symbolically for a short period, if he wants, of course. According to the logic of politics, however, he should resign," Laptev said. Gorbachev has lost his footing, Laptev said. His efforts to keep the republics united have failed, and the overwhelming support of independence by the referendum in the Ukraine has cast a final blow to his shaky position. There is no hope whatsoever that Gorbachev can keep the Union together.

Sovereign states replacing the former superpower will have to rely on themselves in finding the way out from this difficult situation, without any kind of central help. There is no role to be played by Gorbachev in such a concept, Laptev concluded.

To Adopt Political Declaration

LD0212213991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1647 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, Dec 2 (TASS)—The Movement for Democratic Reform is to adopt its political declaration and statutes at its constituent congress on 14-15 December, TASS was told today at the Movement's press center. The Movement's Political Council met in Moscow last Saturday [30 November], and drafts of the documents received heavy criticism during its debates. "In essence, we do not have a political declaration," believes Aleksandr Yakovlev. Drawing up the economic part of the draft declaration, Stanislav Shatalin and Pavel Bunich favored private property rather than an amorphous equality for all forms of ownership. Mikhail Shatrov gave a more precise description of the Movement's stand regarding culture and education. "They are now in a state of neglect not seen under any other regime," commented Political Council members. According to Aleksandr Yakovlev, "Our society is, in general, increasingly drifting away from a democratic path of development, and allowing vices of the past to reappear within itself in a new guise. Is the Movement capable of overcoming this evolutionary zigzag?" The forthcoming constituent congress should to a certain extent provide an answer to this question.

'Vital Need' for United Socialists, Communists

PM0212114791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Nov 91 p 2

[Report by A. Frolov under "Parties, Movements" rubric: "Where to Put the Commas"]

[Text] A news conference by members of the organizational committee of the Union of Communists [Soyuz Kommunistov]—a new political party established recently with the CPSU's Marxist Platform as its base—was held in Moscow 26 November.

In the opening address A. Prigarin characterized the Union of Communists as a party seeking to build a society which organically combines the socioeconomic principles of socialism with the principles of political democracy.

At present the party faces three priority tasks—forestalling the restoration of capitalism in the country

by preventing capitalist private ownership of the means of production, countering it with the destatization of enterprises and their transfer into the full economic ownership of labor collectives; reviving Soviet power, with labor collective councils playing an important role within the system; and restoring the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

According to the news conference participants' estimates, the Union of Communists has between 60,000 and 70,000 active supporters in the country who could join its ranks. A special appeal adopted in this context by the Union's Constituent Conference states that a vital need of our time is the establishment of a united party of socialist and communist forces.

Only a solid scientific program which interpretes what is happening and points the way out of the crisis can serve as the basis for unification, V. Markov emphasized. The draft CPSU program elaborated under M. Gorbachev's leadership is unsuitable for this. As one of the speakers noted, as a result of its amorphous nature and ambiguity it is reminiscent of the king's order in the fairytale—"Execute not pardon!"—in which the comma is missing. It is necessary, finally, to place the comma where it should be.

What is dividing the various communist currents today? Not least the evaluation of the prevailing situation and the attitude toward perestroyka. We are convinced, A. Prigarin said, that socialism required and requires reformation. We are in favor of its restructuring, but against this restructuring turning into attempts to restore capitalism—attempts which, in our opinion, appeared from 1987 onward.

Replying to questions about the origin of their confidence that a socialist path is realistic for the country, the news conference participants emphasized that the crisis of socialism is no cause for panic. It is not socialism which has suffered a defeat but rather the dead-end, regimented model of socialism. This type of thing is not a rare occurrence in history. Capitalism, for example, has passed through four different stages in the course of its development, and the transitions between them were accompanied by very severe crises. The only difference is, B. Kurashvili added, that at the time of the severest crisis, God sent capitalism F. Roosevelt and J. Keynes, while he sent socialism M. Gorbachev and G. Yavlinskiy... B. Kurashvili described the state leadership's current actions as a case of the lawful authorities' exceeding their constitutional powers, as an intrusion into the sphere of questions which can only be resolved by a referendum.

I would also draw the public's attention to the Union of Communists Constituent Conference's adoption of a resolution "On Celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the Defeat of German-Fascist Forces at Moscow.".

Further on Primakov 27 Nov News Conference

Surprise Attack Program Abolished

PM0212141591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Nov 91 Union Edition pp 1, 6

[Report by A. Ivanko: "End of 'Suprise Nuclear Missile Attack' Intelligence Chief Ye. Primakov Abolishes One of the KGB's Most Secret Programs"

[Excerpts] At a 27 November news conference Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Central Intelligence Service, reported that he has abolished the formal intelligence program (not to be confused with the early warning system of the country's ABM defense of the USSR Ministry of Defense), under which intelligence officers were obliged to report every two weeks from various points in the world on whether the United States and the NATO countries were intending to make a surprise nuclear missile strike on the USSR.

Unfortunately, certain mass media (for example: KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA; Aleksandr Nevzorov's "600 Seconds" program; and the evening news program) reported "the abolition of the system for notifying the country's leadership of a surprise missile attack being prepared."

The editorial office has managed to ascertain that it is a question of the suprise nuclear missile attack program—a package of measures implemented by the USSR KGB and the Main Intelligence Directorate of the USSR General Staff to determine a nuclear threat from the United States and NATO. As former KGB Colonel Oleg Gordiyevskiy (now resident in Britain) writes in his memoirs, this system began operating in the middle of 1981. Its emergence was connected with the paranoid concern of the Soviet leadership and, in particular, of Yuriy Andropov, who was KGB chairman at the time, who were afraid of "not noticing the start of a war."

Competent sources report that in 1981, KGB resident agents abroad received a circular signed by Andropov on the implementation of measures within the framework of the suprise nuclear missile attack program, which became the chief priority in Soviet intelligence activities. [Passage omitted]

Ye. Primakov said at the news conference that a huge number of people worked within the program's framework. I do not think I will be lying if I say that almost all, if not all, of the KGB's apparatus abroad worked with varying degrees of intensity for the suprise nuclear missile attack program.

One more program of ideological service to the Soviet leadership has finally (albeit rather belatedly) been abolished.

What Else Ye. Primakov Said at the News Conference

Intelligence today must be part of the new system of international relations. Its philosophy is that there are no

constant opponents and allies; there are constant state and national interests. Proceeding from this premise, it is necessary to find "fields of coincidence of national interests."

Whereas security officers in Soviet establishments abroad used to combine their immediate duties with "the performance of operational work as an agent" among Soviet civil servants, this practice has now been stopped.

As for possible reductions in the intelligence apparatus, there is such a need. Intelligence must work on the principles of "reasonable sufficiency."

The intelligence service does not intend to provide the former socialist countries with lists of its agents who worked there.

There are no grounds for fearing a mass flight of KGB agents to the West, and the service has no intention of taking any preventive measures.

Was the KGB involved in the attempt on the pope's life? When preparing for the news conference, Primakov had requested all the documents on that case. And he can state with full confidence that the KGB had nothing to do with the attempt. The only thing was that state security helped to select the attorney for Bulgarian citizen Antonov, arrested in Italy with respect to this case.

A public relations bureau of the Central Intelligence Service has been established. Its leader is Yuriy Kobaladze.

KGB Agents Abroad Discussed

OW2811182591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1440 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from the "Diplomatic Panorama;" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In addition to IF [INTERFAX] information, DP [Diplomatic Panorama] offers you a few excerpts from the press conference given yesterday by Director of the Central Intelligence Service Yevgeniy Primakov.

Asked about the percentage of secret agents among the Soviet foreign staff, Mr. Primakov said that there was no definite proportion. He warned against strong overstatement of the number of secret agents at Soviet offices abroad. Although the USSR's ex-foreign minister Boris Pankin said that 50 per cent of the Soviet staff in the U.S. were KGB people neither the FBI nor Academician Primakov himself agreed with that figure. According to the WASHINGTON TIMES, in the FBI's estimate, the percentage of KGB people in the Soviet staff working in the U.S. stands at 25 per cent.

All of the world's intelligence systems have an opportunity to work under an official cover, said Mr. Primakov. Similarly the Central Intelligence Service will operate under an official cover, as well, he stressed.

Mr. Primakov said he had studied the KGB's archives on the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II in 1981. "I declare that the KGB's former 1st Department did not have anything to do with that," he said. "Our Participation was limited exclusively to assistance in selecting a lawyer for the Bulgarian citizen Antonov."

Mr. Primakov said that the drain of nuclear know-how to foreign countries was an extremely serious problem. This may be due to possible emigration of nuclear physicists and other researchers and engineers working in the high-technology sphere. "This problem is really serious and may become a subject of discussions between our service and its partners," he said.

Lists of KGB Agents 'Might Be Destroyed'

LD0112142491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] Documentation on the activities of KGB secret personnel might be destroyed. This was revealed in an interview given to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA by Nikolay Stolyarov, deputy chairman of USSR KGB. He pointed out that information about the agents will be sent to the archives, whereas information that is not needed will be destroyed. After a certain period some archives are automatically destroyed. Kryuchkov, former chairman of the KGB, distributed instructions in 1990 which pointed out that all the documents on secret agents should be destroyed. Most of the secret personnel acted sincerely in accordance with their convictions, the deputy chairman of the USSR KGB considers.

Spokesman Says Shevardnadze To Meet Yeltsin

OW0112055191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will meet the Russian President Boris Yeltsin to discuss the situation resulting from the Thursday [28 November] decision of the Russian Government to assume control over the entire property of the Soviet Foreign Ministry [as received]. This was disclosed by the chief of the Information Department of the ministry Vitaly Churkin answering a question from IF's [INTERFAX] reporter. He said such a meeting can take place any time, except Friday [29 November].

Churkin did not rule out the possibility that Eduard Shevardnadze, Aleksandr Yakovlev and Anatoliy Sobchak would be replaced by ambassadors at large at the talks with Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

According to Churkin, Shevardnadze presented his new first deputy on Friday. Aleksandr Vladislavlev was appointed to the post under a presidential decree. Churkin said that Vladislavlev is known as a man with

good contacts with Soviet business circles. He said the appointment was agreed upon with the Russian president Boris Yeltsin and the leaders of other republics.

On the results of UN inspections in Iraq the Foreign Ministry spokesman said that traces of Uranium-235 enriched to 93% and suitable for manufacturing weapons were discovered. He called for finding the source of the uranium and stressed that the reports that it was supplied by the USSR are groundless because the Soviet Union does not produce such uranium.

Churkin commented extensively on the proposals of the UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar [as received] to reform the organization. He stressed the need to use its budget more prudently and pursue more rational and effective policies. Churkin agreed with the idea of setting up a special one billion dollar fund to support UN peace-keeping operations.

'Unsolved Problems' on Free Exit Viewed

LD2911023491 Moscow TASS in English 1932 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 27 TASS—Practically "nothing is now done" to guarantee Soviet citizens the right to free exit declared by the Soviet parliament six months ago, believes Rudolf Kuznetsov, head of the Visa and Registration Department of the Soviet Interior Ministry.

Closing the border check posts, which have recently become more frequent, and huge lines of people wishing to leave this country is "just a visible part of unsolved problems," Kuznetsov told the IZVESTIA newspaper today.

The department head noted, in particular, "the scarce and outdated equipment of his department's services" and catastrophic shortages of foreign passports.

There is no one today to provide for the introduction of the law on entry to and exit from the Soviet Union, he said. Adopting the law six months ago, the Union parliament instructed the Cabinet of Ministers to submit proposals on stage-by-stage introduction of its articles within two weeks.

Lots of questions concerning the material and technical provision for the implementation of the law had to be solved. Still, nothing has been done.

In the opinion of Kuznetsov, there is no executive structure today to carry out this program.

Agenda for Community Leaders' Meeting Reported

LD0312100791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0836 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—A meeting of the council of the heads of the governments of the Economic Community member states will take place here today.

It is proposed that representatives of the sovereign republics which are members of it will consider the draft economic agreements called upon to give concrete expression to the Economic Community Treaty signed by 12 republics this autumn in Alma-Ata, the capital of Kazakhstan. As Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee (IEC), reported in an interview with the Mayak radio station yesterday, the coordination of the republics' activities on prices, on the budget, on the banking system, on taxation—on everything which, in his words "is extremely necessary for the successful implementation of Russian reforms" is also on the agenda.

It is also planned to discuss the problem of dividing the external debt of the former Union between the republics. According to Silayev, "the very acute budget deficit for the fourth quarter" has led to an increase in the state's internal debt. Therefore, the IEC chairman said, the issue of dividing not only the external but also the internal debt among the republics has arisen.

Aug Coup Leaders Still Awaiting Trial

Three Face New Charges

LD2811180891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1710 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 28 Nov (TASS)—Three former leaders of the "August mutiny"—Yanayev, Starodubtsev, and Lukyanov—face fresh charges, IZVESTIYA reports in today's evening edition. According to information obtained from the RSFSR Procuracy's press service, now, in addition to Article 64 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (conspiracy with the aim of seizing power), they are charged primarily with violating Article 1 of the USSR Law on Criminal Accountability for Crimes Against the State. This has been done mainly because the State Committee for the State of Emergency's activities affected interests of all the republics, not just those of Russia. "The actual formula of the accusation, bearing in mind the results of the preliminary investigation, has now become much more specific," the newspaper points out. A similar procedure awaits the other conspirators. Then, the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, together with their lawyers, will be informed in detail of their own criminal cases. Next comes the trial.

Investigator on Progress

LD3011200891

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian at 1000 GMT on 30 November, during the "New Wave" program, carries a 22-minute interview broadcast in four segments with Yevgeniy Kuzmich Lysov, head of the group investigating the failed coup in August. The interview is conducted by "New Wave" presenter Yuliya Cherkova on 28 November at an unidentified location.

In the first part of the interview Lysov says that "a new stage" has begun in the investigations, as new, altered charges have been prepared against the coup participants. This is because the investigation now has a full picture of the events that took place. After two months of investigation "we have come to the conclusion that Article 64, which deals with high treason, also has an independent section envisaging solely plotting with the aim of seizing power. This is not the same as high treason. We came to the conclusion that the people arrested in this case must be charged only with plotting with the aim of seizing power, as this is all we have grounds to charge them with."

Lysov notes that this is a slight departure from the initial charges. Since the plot was conducted not only in Russia, but also in other republics such as the Ukraine, it has been decided "to bring charges in accordance with all-Union law. Such a law exists. It is called the Law on Criminal Responsibility for State Crimes. Its Article 1 is identical to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic's Article 64. This is the charge we have now begun to bring." This charge is being prepared for all participants. Of the 14 people under arrest, only three so far have been formally charged—Yanayev, Starodubtsev, and Lukyanov. There is no significance in only these people having been charged so far, Lysov says, noting that "in the next few days, excluding the weekend, of course, we will bring charges against the rest."

Lysov says that those involved can be divided into two groups—a group of organizers and a group who carried out the plan. However, he is unable to name those in the first group, as he does not wished to be accused of prejudicing the case.

In the second segment of the interview Cherkova asks if attempts will be made to drag out the case. Lysov says that this is possible, although he has no reason to accuse any of the accused or their lawyers of doing so. The accused have the right to see the materials to be used in the case, but if they try to drag this out then legal measures will be taken to curtail the amount of time for this. He notes that "more than four" of the accused are ill and "their state of health, for objective reasons, may not permit them to take part in the investigation." He comments: "This is very undesirable for the investigators. We want them to live and to be healthy, God willing, for a long time yet." Lysov says that the invetigators want to bring the case to court as soon as possible.

Asked whether his investigation touches only the tip of the iceberg, Lysov replies: "On the periphery—in krays, oblasts, and republics—there were many people who were fully prepared to go to the end of the path begun by the plotters." Only by decisively stopping the leadership of the coup was it possible to stop its development lower down, he states. He comments that while it is true that the plotters succeeded in seizing power, "had they been more decisive, tougher, and more direct in going after what they intended, then they would have probably achieved more then they actually did."

In the third segment of the interview, Lysov turns to the recent discovery that CPSU funds were sent to foreign states to finance other Communist Parties. He recounts the difficulties in obtaining the necessary papers documenting this, saying that many were split up among various archives and "many documents simply disappeared." He says: "We have begun to look for them, because we need a full picture. We cannot draw any conclusions without a fully clear picture." The committee has discovered that certain documents were in the possession of Smirnov, a former official of the CPSU Central Committee's International Department. They decided to obtain a search warrant against Smirnov. When they presented this to him on 26 November, Smirnov voluntarily handed over the materials in his possession, which the investigators returned after 24 hours, as agreed with him. Smirnov also handed over a book that he was writing with a journalist named Yavlakhov, who had already published some materials on this matter in ROSSIYA newspaper. The book contains photocopies of certain documents. At a news conference, Yavlakhov complained that his book had been taken illegally and accused the investigators of breaking the law. Lysov says this is typical of some of the difficulties faced by the investigators. "We have only one task. We would like people not to interfere in carrying out our professional duty in investigating these cases and making decisions on them."

In the fourth and final part of the interview, Lysov turns to recent rumors concerning the suicide of Pugo and others. These rumors say that the suicides were murders and that Pugo had three gunshot wounds. Lysov says: "All this is rubbish. I can tell the listeners this frankly, since Pugo had only one gunshot wound in his head. He did it himself. That he took his own life has been established without question." All the suicides—Pugo, Akhromeyev, Pavlov, Kruchin—were checked out. "In all these cases there is not the slightest reason to think that someone else's hand was involved." Akhromeyev left a detailed suicide note explaining why he took his life. Lysov explains total disillusionment as the reason for these people taking their own lives. They were all party people all their lives. Lysov concludes the interview with the observation: "This collapse of everything for which they lived for decades, long decades, in my opinion explains the fact that they decided to kill themselves."

Protesters Disrupt Hanukkah Celebrations

LD0112235791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2130 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 1 Dec (TASS)—Unfortunately the Hanukkah Jewish religious festival which was marked in Moscow today did not pass without trouble.

The militia had to "deal with" a small group of extremists who wanted to hold an anti-semitic protest near the Kremlin's Kutafya Tower. The protest did not have the support of Muscovites. Earlier there was a rally marking

the festival outside the White House. One of the speakers at it was Yelena Bonner. She said that Russia's most acute problems at the moment are ethnic problems. Solving them is more important than the food shortage in our shops. Every people, be they Jews, Chechens, Armenians, or Azerbaijanis must have their own home, and their own place on earth, she said.

A "Hanukkah—festival of freedom, light, and happiness" soiree was held in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on the initiative of the Habad Lyubavich Hasidic community with the backing of the Moscow SNC [not further specified] corporation. There were folk songs and dances and also a direct television bridge with several major cities abroad.

TASS Carries Press Review for 3 Dec

LD0312074191 Moscow TASS in English 0622 GMT 3 Dec 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—All today's newspapers frontpage preliminary results of referenda and presidential elections in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, as well as Gagauz and Dnester region (Moldova's areas inhabited predominantly by Gagauzes and Russian-speaking people).

Newspapers report that Leonid Kravchuk was elected the president of the Ukraine, Nursultan Nazarbayev in Kazakhstan, Stepan Topal in the Gagauz Republic and Yegor Smirnov in the Dnester Republic.

"The Ukraine has become independent. Does this mean that it is outside the Union?" PRAVDA queries. The newspaper carries a remark by A. Alimzhanov, chairman of the Soviet parliament's Council of Republics: "If the polling confirms that the Ukraine withdraws from the USSR, then our Union will break up".

The Ukrainian television ended its broadcasts with the playing of the national anthem "The Ukraine Has Not Yet Died", the performance of which was subject to prosecution only recently.

"Thus, the republic has entered a new era of its history. A fourth nuclear power has emerged on the map of Europe," is how NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT GAZETTE) comments on the results of the referendum in the Ukraine. The newspaper points out that the most sensational outcome of the referendum is that the population of Crimea also voted for the Ukraine's independence.

Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, when asked by a journalist whether he believes that conflicts with Russia can be avoided in the future, said that "Russian democrats will not be willing to go down in history once again as the founders of a new empire", KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reports.

PRAVDA emphasizes that 98.8 per cent of the electorate delivered a vote of confidence in Nazarbayev. This indicates that in these troubled times the people believe in Nazarbayev, the newspaper notes.

The outcome of the presidential elections in Kazakhstan are worthy of being entered in the Guinness Book of Records: 99.8 per cent of those who took part in the polling voted for Nazarbayev, the INDEPENDENT GAZETTE specifies.

TRUD newspaper reports that a referendum among the Ingush was held in the Chechen-Ingush Republic in the northern Caucasus. The Ingushes expressed "a desire to form an Ingush republic within the Russian Federation, with the return of all previously seized lands and with a capital to be situated in the right-bank part of the city of Vladikavkaz".

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reports the emergence of yet another flashpoint on the map of the USSR. The Shapsugs—a small ethnic group (10,000 people) who live in two districts on the Black Sea coast of Krasnodar territory—are pressing for statehood, the newspaper writes. The second congress of the Shapsugs was held in the Lazarevskoye district of the city of Sochi recently. The congress declared itself to be a constituent one and proclaimed the establishment of a Shapsug national district.

Lieutenant-General of the Reserve V. Starodubov, discusses in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) newspaper whether NATO has abandoned the flexible response concept.

Analysing the documents of the Rome session of the NATO council at summit level, he concludes that "virtually the North Atlantic bloc has not abandoned the flexible-response concept. The Western allies agreed only to modify the flexible response principle with due regard for the lesser dependence on nuclear arms."

"We are on the verge of collapse. We shall scarcely meet the country's requirements for oil next year," Lev Churilov, president of the Russian oil and gas corporation Rosneftegaz, told PRAVDA. He points out in his interview that the country's oil extracting industry is experiencing a slump.

"An unreasonable pricing policy put the sector on the verge of disaster. One tonne of oil is cheaper than that of carbonated water by a factor of 12", he said. His opinion is that this branch of the economy can be advanced through changing the pricing policy and transferring the state-run oil and gas industry facilities to other owners.

"The ruble has been, is and will be alive," former Finance Minister of the Russian Federation Boris Fedorov believes. President Boris Yeltsin's reform will work, since an absolutely right direction has been chosen, he maintains in an interview published in today's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

PRAVDA portrays Alexander Dubcek as Czechoslovak Columbus. "The great seafarer brought his caravelle Santa Maria not where he intended to. Political scientists regard Dubcek now as follows: He sought a socialism with a human face but got—a primitive capitalism," the newspaper emphasises.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper carries reports associated with the search for the amber chamber, a unique Tsarist treasure seized by the Nazis from the Catherine Palace near Leningrad during the Second World War.

The newspaper reports that "President Mikhail Gorbachev has ordered that secret materials connected with the search for the amber chamber and other treasures of the Russian culture be rendered open to the press. The military intelligence service turns the relevant data over to RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA.

Earlier the newspaper reported sensational news that the Soviet secret service knows where the amber chamber is hidden.

Economic

Economic Committee Chairman Silayev Remarks

Treaty, Debt Share Discussed

OW2911135091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1100 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Interrepublican Economic Committee Ivan Silayev told journalists on Thursday [28 November] evening, shortly before his departure to Paris, that on Monday December 2 the Council of the Heads of Government of the Sovereign Republics would discuss the results of the work done by experts who were expected to draft an agreement defining the share of each republic in the USSR's foreign debt.

Answering an IF [INTERFAX] correspondent's question, Mr. Silayev said that experts had "fully coordinated the percentage" (the share of every republic in the USSR's foreign debt—IF). He said, however, that problems might arise in dealing with the republics which had not yet assumed "collective responsibility" for the foreign debt (Uzbekistan, the Ukraine, Georgia and Azerbaijan).

Besides that, the Council will discuss a package of agreements vitally important for the ratification of the Econonic Community Treaty by the parliaments of the sovereign republics, Mr. Silayev said.

He also said that the Council would be addressed by vice-chairman of the Russian Federation's Government, Yegor Gaidar, who would speak about all aspects of the plan for switching over to market relations, including price liberalization.

Views Budget Situation

LD0212195191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1741 GMT 2 Dec 91

["Excerpt" of interview with Ivan Silayev, Interstate Economic Committee Chairman, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Silayev] Strictly with regard to the budget. Nothing unexpected has happened on the budget. Moreover, society perhaps was not completely informed, but in general, professional circles knew where our budget system was heading. On the one hand, a colossal increase in expenditure—in connection with both increased living costs and a fall in production, in connection with republics not fulfilling their budget obligations—and on the other hand, the very weak supplementation; after all, receipts into the budget were in effect only somewhere around 40 percent. So we clearly were not living within our means.

Today, this banal formulation is, as they say, apt as never before. Properly speaking, we were living in debt. The state internal debt was increasing, there were high rates of this increase, so the question was: Having looked into the matter in detail—there are no behind-the-scenes actions, this is all open, it is all known to everybody, to each republic—there simply was no other way out. It was clear to the Supreme Soviet that what was at issue was increasing the state debt, and that on the verge of dividing up the internal debt, we are still intending finally to define our position on dividing up the foreign debt. This will be tackled tomorrow. All the materials have been prepared, but it will be necessary to separate the internal debt. The burden of the internal debt has increased somewhat as a result of this very acute budget deficit for the fourth quarter. These are the debts that have accumulated over the year.

Given an objective approach to evaluating the situation, it is quite possible to find solutions, and I think that tomorrow and the day after, and if necessary the heads of government will sit for three days, the main questions may be resolved, and I hope that they will be resolved, otherwise, the date for the transition of Russia to market conditions, supported by the other republics, may not take place. So here, it is extremely necessary for precisely this to be attained.

Debts 'Should Be Shared'

LD0212185291 Moscow TASS in English 1716 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Ivan Silayev on Monday [2 December] said the West welcomes changes in the Soviet Union and tries to encourage them and is proving its commitment through firm financial support.

In an interview with the radio station Mayak, Silayev said his trip to Brussels was very fruitful. He signed an agreement on Western credits to the Soviet Union to buy

grain, meat, butter and other staples. The first batches of food will start arriving in the country in January.

The supplies will meet about 15-18 per cent of the country's needs and will help avoid a sharp decline in living standards in the country.

He said a special commission has been set up to oversee the distribution and use of credits. The commission comprises representatives of all republics. This will rule out "arbitrariness, imbalance and distortion by the part of former federal structures," Silayev said.

Speaking about a forthcoming session of the Interstate Economic Committee scheduled for Tuesday [3 December], Silayev said it will focus on ways to coordinate republics' pricing, budget, banking and tax programmes.

The prime minister said the decline in production and violations of agreements and contracts by republics, have reduced federal budget revenues to 40 per cent of the planned targets. At the same time, the country's domestic debt has grown considerably as a result of "the acute budget deficit in the fourth quarter".

He stressed the country's foreign and domestic debts should be shared by all republics.

Silayev expressed confidence, the Russian leadership will carry out radical economic reforms in conjunction with other sovereign republics.

"A solution can be found only if the situation is assessed objectively," Silayev said.

Call 202-44-79 or 202-42-68 to obtain your personal copy of the full text of Silayev's interview.

Notes U.S. Support

LD0212215791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Interview with Interstate Economic Committee Chairman Ivan Silayev by correspondent V. Perfilyev; place and date not given; from the "TV Inform" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Perfilyev] Here's the paradox: By possessing more and more money, we lose the opportunity daily of buying products and vital articles and living normally, without losing our human dignity. A total deficit, ruined finances, a parade of the sovereignties, and the complete disintegration of the economy: This is what we will have, and no better, by the end of the year.

[Silayev] There is clearly a very serious gap here between a very sharp fall in the revenue sector, and—if we are talking about annual takings—practically speaking the budget is being supplemented by only 40 percent. This is an unprecedented situation. The first thing is that there has been a sharp fall in production, the volume of production, to 40 billion rubles; the second is the sharply spiralling expenditure on social requirements, also about 40 billion rubles; and finally, the failure to fulfill commitments on the 1991 Economic Agreement between republics, that is also approximately 40 billion rubles.

[Perfilyev] Well, we have plenty of debts, but we continue to live on credit. Today, Ivan Stepanovich Silayev and Robert Strauss, the U.S. ambassador to the USSR, signed a protocol on credit aid to the sum of $1,500 million.

[Silayev] Instead of $500 million of the—let's say—first stage of the whole credit, at our request, this has been taken into account. $600 million is being allocated, the implementation of which will commence in four weeks, as we have agreed, following the moment of today's signing. This is, of course, very solid support, not only to our problem in facing the winter but also support for the economic programs.

Customs Committee Draws Up New Regulations

OW0112183791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 29 Nov 91

[From "Business Weekly"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 2, the Committee for Day-to-Day Management of the Economy [Committee for the Operational Management of the Country's Economy] issued a set of instructions entitled "On measures to refocus customs policy on ensuring enhanced availability to the public of food, medicines and other goods." The response of the USSR's Customs Committee came later the same month when it approved a list of goods that may be brought or sent into the USSR without payment of customs duties and import taxes.

Also the country's Customs Committee lifted restrictions on intermediation activities, which means that any legal entity registered as a participant in external economic activities will now be free to import goods, irrespective of whether these are production inputs or are intended to be resold on the domestic market for roubles.

Custom houses are instructed not to levy duties on items imported for personal consumption, motor vehicles included.

Similarly, individuals entering the USSR will not have to pay duties on presents and souvenirs, no matter what their value.

Under a decision by the USSR's State Bank, individuals who permanently reside in the USSR, when temporarily leaving the country, may carry on them up to Rb [rubles] 300 per person, which however they may neither spend or exchange, as well as up to $200 worth of foreign exchange.

GOODS EXEMPTED FROM IMPORT TAXES—Lorries, buses and accessories for motor vehicles—Natural and artificial yarn—Essential oils—Coffee in the grain, soluble coffee and cocoa powder—

Butter—Bananas—Oranges, lemons, grapefruits and tangerines—Prepackaged tea—Meat and meat products—Dry milk—Cotton, woolen, semiwoolen, silk and synthetic fabrics—Clothes—Haberdashery—Refrigerators and freezers—Furniture for hospitals

GOODS EXEMPTED FROM CUSTOMS DUTIES—Equipment for the food industry—Tractors and other farm machinery—Lorries—Non-food raw materials and raw materials for the light industry—Raw materials for the food industry—Foodstuffs (excluding cognac, whisky and gin)—Medicines and other medical supplies

In an interview to an INTERFAX correspondent, Mr. Anatoly KRUGLOV, chairman of the Russian Federation's Customs Committee (CC), said that customs institutions on the republic's territory will continue to be guided by old customs regulations and tariffs for the rest of the year, because the new customs regulations which are currently being drawn up by Russian government will not come into force at least until January 1, 1992.

In the view of Mr Kruglov, today's organisation of the Soviet Union's Customs Committee is as good as can be, which is borne out by the fact of its admission to the International Council of Customs Cooperation, so Russia's CC is likely to adopt a similar structure. Until the republic's customs institutions are put in place, however, the centrally-run custom houses will continue to operate on its territory. Only after the institutional framework of Russia's Customs is complete, the question of defining the respective powers of the two services is likely to arise.

Mr Kruglov was extremely pessimistic about the likely consequences of the scrapping of some import and export taxes, pointing out that they used to bring a significant part of budget revenues. He also said that the republic's Customs is reluctant to forego the revenue derived from duties and tariffs, since its aim is to minimise the state's expenses incurred in operating the service.

Wtih repect to the decision by the USSR's State Bank to limit to $200 the amount of hard currency that individuals may take out of the country without having to give account as to its source, Mr Kruglov said he thought $1,000 (as suggested by Mr Ivan Silayev, chairman of the interim economic committee) would have been a more reasonable figure. In his opinion, the $300 ceiling [as received] will encourage people to violate the law, and moreover, this money usually returns to the country in the form of consumer goods.

The republics should preserve the Customs Union, Mr Kruglov maintained, otherwise all of them would have to go to tremendous cost in order to create their own customs institutions and standardise customs regulations. Equally considerable would be the losses of producers due to more numerous customs duties.

Mr Kruglov holds the view that such a union would in no way encroach on the interests and sovereignty of the Baltic states, which would be hard put to develop quickly a modern customs legislation, gain admission to the International Council of Customs Cooperation, and accede to a variety of international conventions. If the Customs Union were to break up, problems would also arise in the area of technical supoort for external economic activities, e.g. the Baltic republics—now that they are independent—would be confronted with the time-consuming task of drafting an entirely new set of documents ensuring that their merchandise be accorded former customs treatment.

Experts will have it that due to shortcomings in the Soviet Union's customs legislation and its non-adherence to a number of specialised international agreements, its hard currency proceeds from foreign trade are currently 6-10% smaller than would otherwise have been possible.

Article Views Sugar, Meat, Milk Imports

OW0112200491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 29 Nov 91

[From "Business Weekly"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] SOVIET FOOD IMPORTS. Food imports by the Soviet Union fall well short of the country's needs. This is one conclusion that may be drawn from the performance achieved by the Soviet state-run foreign trade association Prodintorg, which is the country's principal importer of sugar, meat and meat products, butter, and milk.

SUGAR IMPORTS ARE LIKELY TO BE 800,000 TO 1m [million] TONS [as received] SHORT OF PREVIOUSLY AGREED LEVELS. Whereas last year Prodintorg purchased 3,949,600 tons [as received] of sugar, its instructions for the current year were to import as much as 5m tons, with 3.5m tons to be bought in Cuba and the remaining 1.5m tons in other countries (of which some 800,000 tons for hard currency and 700,000 tons on credit). By October 1 this year, Prodintorg had acquired 3,743,900 tons of sugar, with 2,349,800 tons coming from Cuba and the rest from France, Poland, Switzerland and Great Britain.

Due to the Soviet Union's failure to meet its obligations under foreign trade deals, sugar deliveries from Cuba will be 800,000 to 1m tons less than intergovernmental agreements call for, with the Soviet Union having no way of making up the shortfall.

PURCHASES OF MEAT AND MEAT PRODUCTS WILL MEET ONLY HALF OF IMPORT REQUIRMENTS. With very little foreign exchange available, the Soviet government has not earmarked any of it at all for importing these foodstuffs. Therefore all purchases have been on credit, sufficient for the purchase of only 900,000-950,000 tons. This is approximately what was imported during all of last year, but is only half of this year's import requirements.

The largest credits were extended by China. They enable the Soviet Union to buy 90,000 [unit not specified] of meat and 110,000 tons of canned meat. The next largest creditors are Italy, which has given loans not only to the central government but to Russia, and Germany. Other suppliers include France, Australia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Vietnam and the USA.

Purchases have been small in the U.S., which principally extends tied credits to grain buyers, although there have been reports that many American farmers would also like to export other agricultural products, including meat.

The attempt at switching over to payments in hard currency has led to a sharp drop in the import of meat and meat products from East European countries, which used to be the Soviet Union's main suppliers of these products. Shrinking foreign exchange earnings make the USSR unable to pay for imports. Imports from Hungary, which used to amount to 300,000 tons, have contracted to 100,000 tons this year. Bulgaria is the only country to maintain deliveries at former levels of 100,000 tons.

DRY MILK IMPORTS ARE ALSO DECLINING. In the 12 months to October, purchases of dry milk abroad fell from 72,700 to 62,700 tons, and those of butter dropped from 226,900 to 112,000 tons. An especially sharp fall was registered by imports of vegetable oils—from 635,300 to 187,200 tons.

Military

Defense Spokesman on Interrepublican Talks

LD2911123891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0518 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Interview with Lieutenant General Valeriy Leonidovich Manilov, "head of the Information Directorate of the Defense Ministry," by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—live or recorded; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Will a united armed forces exist in our country? How will the military budget for next year be drawn up? Who will control the nuclear button? What is the status of the national guard? We shall now discuss these questions. We have the opportunity to receive the information first hand. I would like to present Valeriy Leonidovich Manilov. Good morning.

[Manilov] Good morning.

[Correspondent] He is a lieutenant general, head of the Information Directorate of the Defense Ministry. We are talking to him hard on the heels of the consultative meeting of representatives of the defense ministries of our republics which has just ended.

[Manilov] Yes, this was a routine interrepublican consultative meeting of plenipotentiary representatives of the legislatures of the sovereign republics and defense ministers.

[Correspondent] In fact, this was a unique meeting for our times. I remember that we always used to say that the military was a conservative element—this was before the August coup attempt—that the military tries to oppose the republics' independence. It now seems that the situation is changing. The military, while remaining inclined toward some sort of centralization, is now, in my opinion, trying in some way to cement together the disintegrating Union.

[Manilov] Yes, that really is so. This meeting which has just taken place was the third one. The first of these meetings took place in September at the initiative of our defense minister, Marshal Shaposhnikov. That really was a breakthrough in military construction. Never before in the practice of military construction in our homeland had such forums gathered, with representatives invited from all republics and all state formations on the territory of our country, to discuss questions which are vitally important to these people. Questions of defense really are vitally important.

[Correspondent] This time nine republics took part. Let us immediately begin to talk about this meeting. The main theme of the discussion was the military budget for next year. What was decided? What were the approaches here?

[Manilov] It was necessary to resolve questions of fundamental importance here, to elaborate coordinated approaches to forming the military budget. The sitution has altered radically. Taking account of these new political realities, it was necessary to determine, proportionally, how and how much each sovereign republic should contribute to maintaining the defense at the necessary level, to ensure the functioning of the single Armed Forces. It must be said that the discussion was extremely businesslike and constructive. And such approaches were elaborated.

[Correspondent] They were found.

[Manilov] Yes, they were found. Four basic criteria were taken as a basis. These are the number of troops stationed on the territory of the sovereign republic, the national income, the gross national product of the republic and, proportionately, the share of each of the sovereign republics according to these indices, the averaged percentage of the total amount of the budget...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Did the republican representatives agree with this?

[Manilov] Yes, in principle, all the representatives of the republics agreed with this.

[Correspondent] In your discussions, the representatives of the nine republics proceeded on the basis that they have a united Armed Forces?

[Manilov] Yes.

[Correspondent] Let us emphasize whether this really is so.

[Manilov] This really is so. To go back a bit, it should be said that the decision to preserve a united Armed Forces with centralized control was made by the State Council on 14 November.

[Correspondent] Decisions are made but they are frequently not carried out. Here it seems they will be carried out.

[Manilov] Yes. Unfortunately, decisions which are correct and which reflect objective demands are not always fulfilled and are even ignored by some people. But the sober, competent and professional approach to resolving these very serious problems, the problems of defense, which is being displayed by the plenipotentiary representatives of the sovereign republics, shows that most of them support this position and that in their practical policy they will carry out this work to preserve the united Armed Forces, including the financing of their functions.

[Correspondent] Valeriy Leonidovich, let us touch on the question of nuclear weapons. The Ukraine did not take part in this conference.

[Manilov] Yes, unfortunately, Ukrainian representatives did not take part in this meeting.

[Correspondent] So, perhaps, we shall not dwell on this theme. But Kazakhstan did participate. That is a republic where nuclear weapons are located, and Belarus [Belorussia], too. What decision was made? Where will the control of the nuclear weapons be located?

[Manilov] This question was not examined at this meeting. But the basic position, as absolutely and clearly confirmed by all the republics which have nuclear weapons on their territory, including the leadership of the Ukraine, is that nuclear weapons remain subordinated to the center. Control and management of them is implemented exclusively by the center. None of the republics claim the nuclear button, the right to control the nuclear button.

[Correspondent] But the republics lay claim to having their own national guard. Everyone knows this. Many republics have begun setting up these national guards. The question arises of relations between, say, the central troops, the common, single troops, and the national guards. How can this question be resolved?

[Manilov] Naturally, this question is being examined and we proceed on the basis that every sovereign republic has the right to have its own armed formations. True, our position is that they should be called, and set up, not as national guards but as republican guards, because all of our republics are multinational and evidently no discrimination on ethnic grounds should be allowed.

Relations with the single Armed Forces are also seen quite clearly. The united Armed Forces are Union formations. They are intended to defend the interests of all subjects of the Union whatever form it takes. The republican formations, in the form of the national guards and republican guards which are being set up, are formations intended to protect and to provide the attributes of sovereignty, well, the presidential...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Evidently not just the formal attributes?

[Manilov] Yes, not just the formal ones but this is precisely evidence of sovereignty. These republican guards are formations which should be constructed on the basis of the internal troops and service in them should take place—in the main, all the republics agree with this—after service in the united Armed Forces. Thus, there should be no competition between the republican guard and the united union armed forces. I do not think there will be any such competition.

[Correspondent] We have very little time left on the air. Literally half a minute. Going back to next year's military budget, are you prepared to give us any, even approximate, figures or percentages for how this budget will look as result of the discussions that the republican representatives held?

[Manilov] I cannot give specific figures but I can talk about the main thing, about certain tendencies evident in the defense budget. In the first place, the absolute figure of this budget will be reduced, I can say, as a preliminary, by around three percent.

[Correspondent] Of course, we shall learn the more precise figure, it will be made known.

[Manilov] The second very important tendency which reflects the essence and the aim of the military reform is that it is oriented toward people, oriented to resolving social concerns. There will be considerable reductions in the expenditure on purchasing weaponry and military equipment, by somewhere around 30 percent compared with 1991. The savings from this will provide for a considerable increase in expenditure on the upkeep of the Armed Forces and in particular on making social provision for servicemen.

I think that is a very considerable and qualitatively new phenomenon in the defense budget. It will help to ensure a worthy life for those people who have devoted themselves to military service.

[Correspondent] Lieutenant General Manilov, head of the Information Directorate of the Ministry of Defense, thank you for coming in.

[Manilov] Thank you.

General Lobov Interviewed on Military Policy

LD2811203391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Interview with Army General Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by station special correspondent Vladimir Stanovskiy; place and date not given—recorded; introductory paragraph read by program presenter Natalya Vartanyan, from the "New Wave" program]

[Excerpts] [Vartanyan] The Army on the threshold of changes; hardly anybody can doubt that they are necessary. The Army, which we have grown accustomed over some 70 years to hearing and talking about as no less than invincible and legendary, is now in a very depressing situation. Is that true? Over to our special correspondent, Vladimir Stanovskiy.

[Stanovskiy] Judge for yourselves: the withdrawal of troops from Eastern European countries, which looked like flight and which I happened to witness, and which augmented the ranks of the tens of thousands of homeless officers' families, including those of warrant officers; the desire of some leaders to patch up the budget at the expense of the soldier; to leave him with inadequate food and clothing, or to use him as cheap labor on the boundless fields of our collective and state farms. How often do these worries eclipse concern for the Army's main purpose: to be the defender of the country? This is where we began our conversation with Army General Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov, chief of the general staff of the USSR Armed Forces. [passage omitted]

[Lobov] Of course, the chief of the general staff, among other things, has many concerns—you are right. Naturally, I have my own tasks stemming from general human interests to ensure that our people are defended reliably and safeguarded against any risk of suddenly finding themselves in the situation which we had in 1941. In no way must we allow that to happen.

[Stanovskiy] Vladimir Nikolayevich, you have recalled 1941. Indeed, we sometimes hear from people, especially the older generation, that we might find ourselves facing the same danger because attempts are being made to pull the Army apart, and the veil of secrecy surrounding enterprises which were once closed is being opened; then there are interethnic conflicts.

[Lobov] Let me tell you, you have asked a question which is extremely important for me. First, our country has embarked on the path of openness and glasnost, the path of disarmament. Our country has called on all other countries which have nuclear arms, large armed forces, and large armed groupings for reductions in nuclear forces and in conventional weapons and armed forces. At the same time we know that any disarmament in nuclear or conventional weapons cannot proceed without verification. In other words, the weapons subject to reduction or destruction—elimination—must be verifiable, and the actual process of elimination or reduction must be subject to verification, and that means that the facilities subject to elimination and reduction must also be open.

[Stanovskiy] So, can our people stop being anxious?

[Lobov] No, our people should always be anxious, and we must always be anxious too. For all our openness and glasnost, and for all the matters covered by the subject of disarmament, we do have certain secrets, of course, like any self-respecting state, any self-respecting people, and any self-respecting armed forces. The secrets which concern those specific areas must naturally be defended reliably against encroachments. Let me say that what has to be kept closed is being reliably defended.

[Stanovskiy] One of the guarantees of that is the fact that the policy of the unity of the Armed Forces in today's conditions has been confirmed.

[Lobov] Of course, we have suddenly found ourselves, especially in the past year, with many who want to have armed forces, their own defense ministries, and some kind of military potential. Many of them are talking a lot about plans to set up national guards. But we have a resolution from the Congress of People's Deputies which states that each republic is to define its own relations with the Union Treaty and with the Union as a whole, so it should also determine what to do with its own statehood and with its own defense space.

However, everyone has a different idea of what this defense space is, of what common armed forces are. Everyone has a different understanding of what collective defense and security means. Therefore, there has been a great deal of debate, and this is still going on. This debate is now going a bit too far as they say, and talk of the privatization of the Armed Forces has even started.

But now the State Council, which was in session at Novo-Ogarevo, has dotted the i's on this subject. The Armed Forces need to be common armed forces, as was stipulated in the resolution of the Congress of People's Deputies, along with a collective defence—so missiles and strategic defense weapons need to be under a single leadership, and there should be no dispersal of them. Everything now being formulated in the sphere of defense and the Armed Forces in our country needs to be constructed upon the basis of this very clear position.

The Ministry of Defense, the minister of defense, the General Staff—we all firmly adopt the stance that defense needs to be collective, that there should be common armed forces, and that they should have a single leadership. Only in such an instance will our people and our republics be properly defended.

[Stanovskiy] A final question, Vladimir Nikolayevich: Our Army and Navy, like the whole of society incidentally, are presently living through difficult times. In your

view, what help could the media, in particular the Novaya Volna [New Wave] All-Union Radio Station, offer to them?

[Lobov] They could tell people more about the Armed Forces and about the people who are serving, who are carrying out their duties in extremely difficult circumstances. You need to present things truthfully, not embellish them or hush things up, but you need to show real life as it is lived by our military personnel and their families—the conditions in which they live and how they help their fathers and husbands fulfill their duties. How these people manage to carry out these far from easy tasks, their truthfulness and honor before the people and before the Army—that is the main thing people need to be made aware of from all the media, including the radio.

Ground Forces Chief of Staff Interviewed

PM0212114991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General Yuriy Dmitriyevich Bukreyev, chief of the Ground Forces Main Staff, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA military observer Lieutenant Colonel A. Dokuchayev under the rubric "First Interview in New Post; place and date of interview not given: "I Favor 'Ground Defense Forces'"]

[Text] Lieutenant General Yuriy Dmitriyevich Bukreyev has been appointed chief of the Ground Forces Main Staff. In conversation with a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA military observer he talks about the prospects for "his" branch of the Armed Forces, which is undergoing major reform at the moment.

[Dokuchayev] The first question, Yuriy Dmitriyevich, is a normal one. How did you become chief of the Main Staff? What do you need to make such a career?..

[Bukreyev] I think the answer is also normal. I graduated from the Tashkent Tank School in 1962. It was in the Turkestan Military District that I served as commander of a platoon, then a company. Then I attended the Armored Forces Military Academy. In the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany I went through such stages as deputy commander and commander of a tank regiment and chief of staff of a motorized rifle division. Then I was commander of a division in Kiev Military District for three years. The great education for me was the Far East, where I was sent after leaving the General Staff Military Academy. First I was Army deputy commander, and then commander for two and a half years. It was interesting, independent work. I had another spell where I had begun my career—the Turkestan Military District, where I headed the district staff. Now I am chief of the Ground Forces Main Staff. What do you need to have such a career? You need to be totally dedicated and to have served more than 30 years in various posts. That is my personal situation...

What else is there to say? I was 50 this year. I am married, with two children. My son is 25, an officer serving as a company commander in the Far East; my daughter is 11 and at school...

[Dokuchayev] They say the Ground Forces are becoming obsolete. A new term has appeared—"Ground Defense Forces." One factor here is certainly the lessons of the war in the Persian Gulf, where the multinational forces' success was predetermined, you might say, in the air...

[Bukreyev] Yes, during the war in the Persian Gulf aircraft showed themselves to be a maneuverable, effective weapon. But this is no way belittles the significance of ground forces' military actions in the attainment of the ultimate goal. Moreover, the war in the Gulf confirmed the philosophical tenet of their determining role. As is well known, the sides' groupings on the ground comprised over 1 million men. Although the Iraqi Ground Forces, for a number of well known reasons, did not realize their potential, and the Ground Forces of the United States and the other coalition countries met practically no resistance.

But, in principle, one cannot imagine any significant ground operation without ground forces. Ground forces are mobile, maneuverable combined formations and units and they have modern means of armed combat, including aircraft, which you mentioned. Although the contribution of the various categories of armed forces to the rout of the enemy depends each time on the specific military-political goals of the war, the particular conditions, and the sides' intentions. In the Persian Gulf the situation was such that aircraft played the leading role. When talking about our Ground Forces one should bear in mind that we have the longest land border in the world. So because of our geostrategic position they have a great part to play in preventing aggression. I believe that in the future too we will have to have major groupings of ground forces at points where conflicts are possible.

An analysis of the international situation shows that there is little possibility of aggression against our country from several directions. So the operational basis of the concept of defense building should be mobile defense. Obviously it can be conducted only by mobile forces. What is the essence of the concept? The strength of combat-ready units and formations deployed in a particular area has to be such that no one will be tempted to provoke a crisis or local conflict. But if, nonetheless, a conflict breaks out, we must not allow it to escalate steeply. The main aim of mobile defense is to be able to regroup as required and bring up mobile reserves swiftly in order to change the correlation of forces and resources in a particular region in our favor, in order to repulse aggression. So I favor "Ground Defense Forces." The term corresponds most accurately, in my view, to the essential nature of future ground forces.

Ground Defense Forces not only acquire a new role, but also change in terms of numbers. In the recent past we

had 20 large formations—16 military districts and four groups of forces. Now we have 11 districts and three groups of forces, counting the renamed Baltic Military District. The cuts continue. In 1994 we will have the following armament levels in the European part of the country: 13,150 tanks, including 2,650 in storage; 20,000 armored fighting vehicles, including 2,000 in storage; 13,175 artillery pieces, including 2,350 in storage, and 1,500 strike helicopters. It is on this basis that the number of formations will be determined. So in view of the fact that the Warsaw Pact has ceased to exist, our forces will fall somewhat short of the NATO bloc armies. Naturally, the groupings that are being created must be marked by greater activeness, maneuverability, and mobility, and the formations must have a flexible table of organization.

[Dokuchayev] As I see it, the Ground Forces are switching to corps and brigade structures. What will that do? Will it not cause disruption, as has happened more than once in the past, and lead to losses?

[Bukreyev] We have now elaborated the following structure in case of war. The district, as a rule, allocates fighting forces, which comprise armies and corps. The armies and crops comprise divisions. The new concepts, which have emerged literally in recent months, in peacetime, exclude Army structures. It is envisaged that the corps will comprise brigades.

What will this do? Corps and brigades are more maneuverable than the existing tactical units. For instance, in the current regiment all subunits (combat components) are interconnected and, given the present composition, it is difficult for battalions to fight independently. But in the brigade, the commander is able to chop and change his strong battalions, create mobile groups in different sectors, and handle the reserve more freely.

I do believe, though, that it is necessary to have two different structures—both Army and corps. Why? The combat situation will obviously require armies. They can be created on the basis of corps, of course. But where do the command and control organs come from? It is unrealistic to expect to be able to create an Army staff quickly (particularly via drafted reserves). It takes years to create an Army administrative apparatus. So we are incorporating the following provisions in the Ground Forces reform concept: to have one or two armies and one or two corps in border districts in areas where conflicts are most likely. The armies and the corps will comprise divisions and brigades. In my view that is the most flexible solution.

[Dokuchayev] Yuriy Dmitriyevich, readers will want to know what the Army and the corps will consist of.

[Bukreyev] One cannot speak of any specific organization because the Army and corps are flexible structures. An army can include two-three motorized rifle divisions and one tank division, plus what makes up an army. It can be missile and artillery brigades, a rocket artillery brigade, an antitank artillery regiment, a combat helicopter regiment, and also air defense, engineering forces, reconnaissance, and communications formations and units... That is, a range of combat, technical, and logistical support.

I think it is appropriate to talk here about our anguish. A number of military districts do not have divisions deployed and ready to perform combat tasks immediately. One of the chief aims of the military reform is to create permanent-readiness divisions that would be ready to enter into battle at any moment. The plan is for a motorized rifle division to have at least 7,500 men and a tank division to have around 7,000 with full support subunits. Combat companies and battalions will engage only in combat training. As you know, even now divisions have one or two deployed regiments. But since there are practically no personnel in other units, they too are being ransacked, so to speak, for people to perform guard duty and do economic work at the expense of training. Can they be regarded as combat-ready?

In short, it is planned to have complete formations in the Defense Ground Forces.

[Dokuchayev] The war in the Persian Gulf showed that it is up-to-date weapons that decide the outcome of an operation. Does the Ground Forces' combat equipment fit the bill?

[Bukreyev] It does. But it has to be said that we are lagging behind the Western armies in terms of reconnaissance, radioelectronic warfare, and automation of processes in the control of forces and weapons.

There is also concern that if the rate of improvement of armaments falls off as a result of defense budget cuts, we could soon be an also-ran in terms of technical progress. Practice has shown that it takes 10 or more years to develop and assimilate armaments and supply the forces with them. Any extension of this period obviously does no good at all. The country's and republics' leaders are now faced with the question of continuing to create the new armaments that are utterly essential.

[Dokuchayev] Obviously the potential of modern equipment can be realized only by professionals. Are there plans to create a stable system for training military cadres?

[Bukreyev] First of all I will deal with the officer training system. The Ground Forces now have six academies and 42 military schools. There are many military higher education establishments, but... We have military schools that train 700-800 people. You will not create a high-quality training base in such small establishments. Second, students have to be taken away from their studies. One year out of the four is lost on guard duty or economic work.... Hence the complaints about the poor quality of graduates. Major changes are required.

It was decided to set about amalgamating higher educational establishments. The plan is that each military

school should have at least 1,200-1,500 students (incidentally, in training centers in the West you find at least 2,000 students). There is the problem of teaching staff. People are now joining the department from posts as battalion deputy commanders or battalion commanders, that is, officers without a great deal of service or life experience. Now we plan to set up permanent departments at academies to train teaching staff. I think this will help improve the quality of training.

School and academy training are fundamental. But practice shows that there is not enough of it throughout service, combat equipment is changing too rapidly and tactics and the operational art are becoming more sophisticated. Often the gap between graduating from school and entering an academy is 8-10 years. Throughout this period there is virtually nowhere for an officer to go to improve his knowledge and skills. Although a small percentage (battalion deputy commander and battalion commander level) did attend "Vystrel" higher officer courses and Central Artillery School. But that is not enough. We need an orderly system for improving professional knowledge. I envision it as follows.

The relevant courses to train officers for particular posts will be established at military schools and academies. Every platoon commander, upon promotion, will be obliged to complete a two-month course, as will company commanders, battalion deputy commanders, and battalion commanders. As a rule, officers will require academy education to be appointed deputy commanders of regiments. In order to take on the post of brigade (regiment) commander or division deputy commander, the relevant category of officer will have to brush up on his knowledge of academy courses. The next step is General Staff Military Academy. Officers graduating from it will subsequently improve their knowledge on higher academic courses at that academy.

[Dokuchayev] Now we come to a prosaic but topical question. How is the draft going?

[Bukreyev] It is difficult, of course. Most of the sovereign republics have decided that draftees should serve on their territories. This would disrupt the full manning of units. And whereas the question of recruiting junior specialists for the Strategic Deterrent Forces, the Navy, and Air Defence Forces is being dealt with somehow, this remains the number one problem for the Ground Forces. In this connection the General Staff considerably reduced the requirement for drafting young men for the Ground Forces this fall. If everyone is successfully drafted, we will cover our needs by only 70-80 percent. There is only one solution, which has already been promulgated: To switch to the mixed principle of manning next year. And that is what we are going to do.

Armed Forces Structure, Staffing Confirmed

Appointments Discussed

PM2911143391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by TASS correspondent R. Zadunayskiy under the rubric "Military Reform In Operation": "The Commission Continues Its Work"]

[Text] Moscow, 26 November—Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, USSR minister of defense, had a meeting today with employees of the USSR Ministry of Defense commission for the abolition of military-political organs and the formation of military training organs and structures for work with personnel in the USSR Armed Forces. By all accounts, the recent differences of opinion that arose concerning the appointment of leaders in the structures for work with personnel in the Army and Navy have been settled.

Ye. Shaposhnikov and commission staffers discussed the problems that have arisen in a businesslike and comradely atmosphere. It was decided that all appointments to these organs would be made with due consideration for the commission's recommendations. Following a vote, the structure of the USSR Ministry of Defense Committee for Work with Personnel was definitively confirmed. It is envisaged that the post of its leader will be described as "assistant to the USSR minister of defense—chairman of the Committee for Work with Personnel." The committee's structure will include directorates for social and legal work, for the provision of information, and for culture and leisure.

In addition, the elaboration of staffing requirements for the structures for work with personnel of the country's Armed Forces was completed. The commission's decided to make provision for only 37 generals' and admirals' positions in them, instead of the previous 356 positions of leaders of military-political organs.

The USSR minister of defense stressed that, after 1 December 1991, the commission will have to undertake the certification of officers and generals in the USSR Ministry of Defense Main Directorate for Cadres apparatus and of leadership personnel in the military mass media.

Stolyarov Named as Aide

LD0212210591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1538 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 2 Dec (TASS)— Aviation Major-General Nikolay Stolayrov, former head of the directorate of staff of the former USSR KGB, candidate of Philosophical Sciences, has become aide to the USSR minister of defense—chairman of the Committee of the USSR Ministry of Defense for Work with Personnel. As was learned today by a TASS correspondent, this appointment was made on 30 November by the collegium of the Ministry of Defense.

In the opinion of observers, this appointment is unexpected, but not accidental. In August this year Nikolay Stolyarov confidently took the side of the democrats during the attempted coup d'etat. A member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Central Audit Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party, right from the very first day of the putsch he unhesitatingly joined the ranks of the defenders of the Russian White House. On the morning of 19 August Stolyarov appeared in the citadel of resistance to the putschists. On the night of the proposed storming of the building, taking advantage of special communications, he spoke to the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, calling on them to change their mind. On 22 August, together with Aleksandr Rutskoy, the Russian vice president, a friend from his flying days, as well as with Ivan Silayev, who was prime minister at that time, and with Vadim Bakatin and Yevgeniy Primakov, two members of the country's Security Council, he left by air for Foros.

The morning of victory brought with it a new turn of fate. Major-General of the Air Force Nikolay Stolyarov was confirmed as deputy chairman of the USSR KGB—head of the USSR KGB personnel directorate. He is also a member of the Movement for Democratic Reform's political council.

He now has a new appointment: He is, so to speak, to become principal teacher and mentor [nastavnik] to the staff of the country's Armed Forces. The majority of the members of the USSR Ministry of Defense commission for removal of military-political bodies and establishment of combat training and personnel liaison structures take a positive view of Nikolay Stolyarov's appointment.

Republics' Own Forces Unopposed

OW0212002691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2143 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A conference of defence and security committees of both houses of the national parliament and representatives of the sovereign republics which ended in Moscow on Friday [29 November] adopted a statement saying "that the right of every sovereign state to form its own armed forces with due account to the principle of common security for the transitional period does not arouse any opposition.

The document signed by members of the national parliament and 11 out of 12 republics of the Union (Azerbaijan did not attend the conference) also says that all questions of military security should be decided in line with the international commitments of the Soviet Union and acting legislation".

Participants in the conference agreed that government decided to set up a working group of representatives of the Union and republican parliaments by December 5.

Reform, Defense Budget Discussed

PM0312102791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by Captain Second Rank V. Urban: "What the 1992 Military Budget Will Be Like. The Republic Legislatures Will Decide This"]

[Text] Representatives of the republic government departments and legislative organs dealing with defense questions spent three days—Wednesday through Friday [27-29 November]—in Moscow.

The point is that the Soviet of the Union Armed Forces Committee held two sessions immediately after it was set up in order to examine questions of military reform and the draft 1992 defense budget. Naturally, the USSR Defense Ministry had prepared the draft on the basis of the State Council decision on retaining unified Armed Forces. But only seven republic deputations are taking part in the work of the Union Supreme Soviet.

The positions of the others, especially regarding the formation of next year's budget, had to be ascertained. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported on the meeting of republics' representatives at the USSR Defense Ministry. But nevertheless, the main debate unfolded over the following two days, when the delegations met in the Kremlin and the participants in the talks (officially described as a conference) were joined by Ukraine and Moldova.

In principle the republics agreed to share payment for defense. According to preliminary calculations, Russia is investing 61 percent, Ukraine 17 percent, and so forth. But many people found these figures unrealistic. Certain "plenipotentiary representatives," it later transpired, were pursuing very definite aims. At any rate, the only thing they managed to decide about the budget was to leave the republic legislatures to determine their own percentages.

Ukraine confirmed that it is intending to create a national army, but it agreed to share in funding the strategic forces on its territory. The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet will decide the rest. In the future it is planned to switch gradually to funding the combined units that will form the new Army "through the reform" of three districts. Both V. Durdinets, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Defense and State Security Questions, and Defense Minister Colonel General K. Morozov articulated this position.

Something else is also important. Ukraine's delegation certainly wanted to obtain its colleagues' support ahead of the republic referendum. And thus to secure earlier than the others recognition of its independence, which is regarded as a foregone conclusion.

Russia, as Col. Gen. P. Grachev, USSR first deputy defense minister and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] State Committee for Defense Questions, said, supports the retention of

unified Armed Forces. No way will it provoke the partition of the Army. Of course, if a "different situation" emerges, Russia will easily create its own army.

As Col. V. Lopatin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Defense Questions, believes, to switch to joint Armed Forces while retaining unified strategic forces, primarily nuclear forces, would be an acceptable compromise now.

As for Russia's payments to the Union defense budget, the question will also be coordinated with the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Russia is responsible for the bulk of expenditure on maintaining the Army, so its position is most important. In the meantime Russia's deputation in the USSR Supreme Soviet is opposed to allocating the credit of 90.5 billion rubles requested by the USSR president for the fourth quarter of this year. And almost one-third of this credit is to go toward covering defense spending.

Russia's caution may be prompted by the uncertainty over the conclusion of the political Union of Sovereign States; its initialing has been postponed indefinitely. It also clearly has an eye on the Ukraine, which has also stopped making payments to the Union budget.

Moldova expressed a wish to create its own army (one motorized rifle division plus border and internal troops). It is prepared to fund only the air defense units stationed in the republic and, in part, the Soviet Army units. Admittedly, there was a proviso here: taking into account "their transformation" on the basis of the acts adopted in the republic. This is certainly connected with President M. Snegur's decree nationalizing the Soviet Army's property, combat equipment, and armaments.

Georgia asked for help in creating its own armed forces. Asked about funding Union structures, the republic's representative replied diplomatically that this will be considered, and "we will inform you." The answer will probably be in the negative.

Central Asia and Kazakhstan advocated unified Armed Forces, but asked that their own "initial potential" be taken into account in determining the percentages to be invested.

Armenia is prepared to support the principle of shared participation in forming the military budget during the transitional period. The republic's parliament will decide the specific figures when it considers its own budget. This will be in about two weeks.

Azerbaijan's position is still not clear, since its representatives did not take place in the conference. Although, according to certain information, the republic's defense minister was in Moscow at the time.

Belarus [Belorussia], republic People's Deputy L. Privalov said, will help the Armed Forces no matter how hard things are for the republic. Incidentally, the members of Belarus' delegation opposed the line in the draft joint statement saying that there is no doubt about the right of every sovereign state to create its own armed forces. On the grounds that they think that this may provoke other republics.

After this there were sharp debates, and the participants in the conference placed on record the right to create their own armies only on the basis of the principles of common security during the transitional period. A working group of representatives of the republics, Union legislators, and the State Council committee to prepare and implement the military reform will be set up.

A draft appeal in which the conference participants "deem any unlawful actions regarding the Armed Forces to be impermissible" was immediately thrown out.

So let us see what an ambiguous position USSR Defense Minister Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov finds himself in. There is the State Council decision (adopted, however, as is well known, without Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, and so forth) on retaining unified Armed Forces. There are no other political decisions. Consequently, the Union Army and Navy are subordinate to the USSR president and the State Council. But at the same time the "privatization" of military property has begun in several of the republics whose representatives attended the conference. Let us add to that the attempts to enshrine—now by means of an interrepublic conference—the creation of their own armed forces.

What is to be done? It is no accident that during the discussion of the joint statement the USSR defense minister left the hall after merely supporting the republics' approach toward forming the budget.

In short, we may have to wait a long time for answers from the legislatures, and then it will be the turn of the Union Supreme Soviet, which is also entirely dependent on the republics. The endless coordination will scarcely be completed before the start of the new year. But the Army is again suffering losses. Logic ought to suggest a different solution: The State Council, casting aside the present disagreements, takes the initiative of "collecting" funds for defense. In any other circumstances it is difficult to make forecasts.

Ministry Details Spending on Arms, Equipment

LD0112011791 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1403 GMT 30 Nov 91

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] The spending on the purchase of armaments and hardware shrank by 23 percent, or by 7.2 billion rubles, in 1991 as against 1990, according to figures supplied by the Soviet Defence Ministry. The same tendency will be preserved in 1992: 6.9 billion rubles will be released from the defence budget. This means that military production will be halved in 1992 as against 1989.

The Soviet Defence Ministry unveiled some indicators characterising the rate of cutting the supply of armaments and hardware from the moment the USSR defence doctrine began to be implemented.

—Stratetic missiles by 40 percent;
—Sea-launched ballistic missiles by 54 percent;
—Tanks by 66 percent;
—Armoured vehicles by 80 percent;
—Artillery systems by 59 percent;
—Combat vehicles by 50 percent.

The command of the arms of the service [military commands] approached Chief of the General Staff Vladimir Lobov on November 29 with the request to preserve all military academies. The appeal was prompted by the plan to merge all of the existing six military academies into an academy of ground defence forces, which was developed by the land forces command. The commanders of the arms of the service stated this reform could bring about a total collapse of the military school. The model developed by the command of the land forces envisaged that depending on forces' requirements and mindful of their drastic reduction, the Military Academy of Ground Defence Forces should train commanders and specialists and, correspondingly, have a command department and departments of the types of supply. The ultimate goal of the academy is to enable officers to study the nature of modern-day combat and acquaint themselves in detail with combat, technical, and logistics supply.

Divisions Unable To Conduct Tactical Training

LD0312053791 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1844 GMT 2 Dec 91

[From the military news section]

[Text] In 1991 land forces did not carry out any tactics division training which is the main kind of preparation of units of the USSR military forces for battle actions. [sentence as received]

As has become known from sure sources, this news was declared by the deputy chief commander of land forces in charge of the battle training, General-Colonel Eduard Vorobyov, at a regular session on December 2. In a number of military regions, it was impossible to carry out planned tactics division training because of the fact that the units did not have enough staff. In the Western and Northern Groups of the forces, where divisions have enough staff, the training was not carried out because of the limits imposed on the military activities of the units of the USSR military forces in accordance with the existing agreements on the interstate level.

Bid To Be Announced for Troop Apartments

OW0212014191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2152 GMT 1 Dec 91

[From the 2 December "Soviet Business"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpt] As the department responsible for ordering the building of houses for Soviet military personnel returning from East Germany, the USSR Ministry of Defence is expected to announce at the end of December or the beginning of January a new tender [bid] for the building of 17 housing estates in the Ukraine. The preliminary conditions of the tender state that after the signing of the contracts those bidding should agree to build 18,600 apartments with a total floor space of 1.07 mn. [million] sq. [square] m [meters] and set up all the necessary infrastructure.

So far Turkish, Austrian, German and Finnish companies, who already have experience of building in the USSR (one of the stipulated conditions for the bidders), have declared their intention to participate.

The financing for a total of thirty three housing projects for Soviet military personnel comes in the form of a DM [Deutsche mark] 7.6 bn. [billion] credit granted by Germany last year.

In a similar tender held earlier in the year for the building of housing estates for Soviet military personnel returning from Eastern Europe the winning companies came from Turkey and Finland. [passage omitted]

Baltic Affairs

'Two Years' Needed for Troop Withdrawal

LD2711171191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0350 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 27 Nov (TASS)—A minimum of two years is needed for the withdrawal of Baltic Military District troops from the Baltic states so that the economy of the republic does not "suffocate," said Colonel V. Kandalovskiy, chairman of the officers' assemblies of the Baltic Military District, in an interview for the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. Otherwise, the transport arteries will be completely paralyzed. This is because hundreds of thousands of loads, shells, containers, and equipment are to be withdrawn.

Citing the press bureau of the USSR Ministry of Defense, Col. Kandalovskiy said the situation is complicated by the fact that the ministry has no troop withdrawal plan. There is a disbandment plan. "This is worse," stressed the Kandalovskiy. "People are simply being thrown out onto the street." The situation would not seem so depressing if the immovable capital of the district—amounting to 150 billion rubles—formed the basis of funds for the social protection of servicemen. However, the property of the district is being sold for a song, and money is being transferred to the USSR Ministry of Defense, where it halts.

Recently, at the districtwide officers' assembly in Riga, a decision was adopted not to submit "to some orders of the command" (on disbandment) [TASS note], the newspaper writes.

Republics To Increase Fuel Prices 1 Dec

OW0112055891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1700 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The "Estontoplivo" ("Estonian Fuel") amalgamation has announced fuel price increases. Beginning from December 1st a liter of A-76 gasoline will cost 1 ruble 49 kopecks, AI-93—1 ruble 86 kopecks and diesel fuel—1 ruble 23 kopecks.

On November 25th the Estonian Government decided to free fuel prices in order to encourage its import.

Despite the price hikes, fuel will not be sold to car owners. Only official automobiles will be given 10 liters a day.

The state-run enterprise "Latvian Oil" says starting December 1st diesel fuel of all types will cost 1 ruble 20 kopecks per liter, A- 76—3 rubles 50 kopecks, AI-93—4 rubles and AI-95—4 rubles 20 kopecks. The prices include gasoline tax and 5% sales tax.

Estonia

Deputy Reports on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

OW0212180791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1510 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A deputy to the Estonian parliament, Juri Liim, has informed BF [BALTFAX] that representatives from Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Russia held a preliminary meeting in the Estonian Government's residence in Lohusalu near Tallinn at which they discussed the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Baltics.

Mr. Liim, who had taken part in the meeting, said Baltic representatives had called on Russia to "use the means at its disposal to bring forward the withdrawal of Soviet forces". In particular they insisted that the Soviet units stationed in the capitals of the three states be pulled out immediately.

The Estonian side also believes that the specialised units and the forces that may be used for offensive purposes should be withdrawn immediately. Estonia is making a claim to some of the modern weapons and equipment in possession of the Soviet forces for it made considerable financial contributions to the maintenance of Soviet defence capacity in the past.

Mr. Liim said that at the forthcoming talks Russia intends to discuss the possibility of Estonian citizenship being granted to former Soviet servicemen. He said Russia is expected to name the day for the beginning of the negotiations this week. They may start in the first half of December.

Government 'May Recognize' Ukraine Independence

OW0212203891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonian Justice Minister Yuri Raidla has told BF [BALTFAX] that Estonia may recognize Ukraine's independence only after the official announcement of the results of the vote. "You can recognize state independence only after you get official information", he stressed.

Counterintelligence Official on Cooperation

OW0312121991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1115 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vice-Chairman of the Soviet counter-intelligence service, Mr. Vyacheslav Shironin, who, on the Soviet side, heads the working group for the elimination of the KGB in Estonia, told the Estonian newspaper PAEVALEHT that the Soviet security service looks at the Baltic

intelligence agencies as partners in combating international crime. "We are deeply concerned by the fact that large amounts of drugs and false dollars are moving through the Baltic states," he said.

Mr. Shironin said that the KGB had given Estonia special equipment worth 2.8 million rubles and was ready to conclude an agreement for servicing them during the next 10 years.

He said that shortly a plane would take to Tallinn 5 tonnes of Estonia-related documents from the KGB archives. Most of them are criminal cases.

However, the KGB will pass the lists of its agents over to the Estonian side only following the conclusion of corresponding agreements, said Mr. Shironin. "We could reach an agreement that they would be kept behind two doors—one of them with the code lock of Estonia and the other with that of the KGB. These doors could be opened in 30 to 50 years," he said. The KGB has already drafted such an agreement. Movever, it will go in effect only after Estonia adopts laws guaranteeing the rights of former secret agents, said Mr. Shironin.

Budget Provides Defense Ministry Funding

PM2711155591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Captain Second Rank V. Vladimirov report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "A Ministry Is Next"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Estonian Supreme Council Presidium has ratified the statutes of the Republic Defense Forces Main Staff. In the near future, the republic will have its own Ministry of Defense as well. This is easy to see from the draft budget for the first half of 1992, which already contains an estimate for the maintenance of the as-yet-unformed ministry.

It is planned to appropriate 100 million rubles [R] for the Ministry of Defense. The draft offers thorough calculations to show where these funds will go. Initially it will be necessary to maintain 2,700 men, but by the middle of the year as many as 8,000 will be "on" the military budget. More than 500 officers will form the backbone of the new army. Each of them will have to be paid an average allowance of R1,560 per month.

The government is ready to purchase six helicopters, 100 armored personnel carriers, 100 trucks, and 380 low-power transmitters. It is proposed to spend R1.6 million to acquire automatic weapons and pistols.

All this equipment and weaponry is most probably intended to equip a lightly armed Jaeger brigade.

Seminar Opens on National Security Structure

OW2711235391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1445 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A seminar on Estonia's national security concept opened in Tallinn November 26th. Participants in the seminar discussed the structure of the republican armed forces and stages of their creation.

Addressing the seminar, acting Chief of Staff of the Estonian defense forces Ants Laaneots stated that the republican defense forces should provide protection of the state "for at least two or three weeks until the international security system comes into effect."

Minister Fears Coup, Appeals for Defense Aid

PM0212174091 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 1 Dec 91 p 6

[Mikael Holmstrom report: "Balts Fear New Coup"]

[Excerpt] Oslo—Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri and other Baltic representatives fear a new military coup in the Soviet Union that could crush Baltic independence. The three Baltic countries want Sweden and other Western countries to help them immediately with arms, equipment, and training so that they are able to defend their sovereignty.

"The West believes that all the problems have been solved and that only technicalities remain in our relations with the Soviet Union—that is an illusion.

"We are talking about a conflict that could break out in February or March next year, possibly in the form of another military takeover. This is a reality," Lennart Meri told an international conference on security in northern Europe arranged by the Norwegian Foreign Policy Institute.

"We are facing a military security vacuum in Estonia, a 'gray zone' that could be colored pink and perhaps even red, with catastrophic consequences not only for the Baltic states but also for the whole Baltic Sea region.

"So far no one has shown the slightest interest in helping us to rebuild and rearm our national defense forces. Once again the troublesome Balts are creating problems the rest of Europe would like to forget, or at least sweep aside," Lennart Meri said.

The Estonian foreign minister will address the Foreign Policy Institute in Stockholm on 2 December. In a conversation with SVENSKA DAGBLADET, Lennart Meri likened the risk of a new military coup to tuberculosis infection:

"The Russian people were strong enough to resist in August. This winter will be very hard, and around March the activity of the people will decrease. March is the most likely time for a second attempt at a coup d'etat. Then the people will not adopt the active countermeasures they did in August," Lennart Meri said.

The Baltic countries, independent since the failed Soviet coup three months ago, are now trying desperately to strengthen their economies, their diplomatic channels, and their defenses.

"Even the pope in Rome has his own guard; it is symbolic, but as a symbol it has an international weight. A border guard can never repulse the world's biggest army. But without such a symbol, no one will even notice that the Baltic states are being invaded. It is a preventative step."

Sweden and the other Nordic countries have hitherto rejected arms and military training for the Balts. Norwegian Defense Minister Johan Jorgen Holst made it clear at the conference that this is not a "natural element." He said that the Balts should put their efforts into civilian defenses and civil resistance as long as Soviet forces remain in the Baltic states.

Swedish Foreign Ministry Under Secretary of State Lars-Ake Nilsson reiterated in his speech in Oslo Prime Minister Carl Bildt's words that Sweden does not want a "security vacuum" in the Baltic region.

"Our contribution is to fill in the contours of the Balts' security picture, to train them quite simply in security policy," Lars-Ake Nilsson explained to SVENSKA DAGBLADET.

"Arms are out of the question. In my view, military training is not on the agenda.

"We must not create any false expectations. We must not give the wrong impression—that we are taking on some security commitments to these states," Lars-Ake Nilsson said.

Lennart Meri countered the Swedish line by saying:

"To do nothing means hastening the real crisis," he told SVENSKA DAGBLADET, adding:

"The main reason why the Swedes are reluctant is that they still think that they would be misunderstood in Moscow. I am absolutely certain that Moscow is considerably better informed than Sweden. They know that the social situation in the Baltic states was the most stable in the former Union. Moscow has no real objections, but will voice opposition for reasons of political negotiation, for imperialistic reasons," Lennart Meri predicted. [passage omitted]

Ministry Denies Charges of Nazi Rallies

OW2611192591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1443 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian Foreign Ministry has censured the position of the Swedish minister for foreign aid, Alf Svensson, who demanded an end to aid for the Baltics, arguing that rallies were being held there by "former SS troops."

The Estonian statement notes that in the charters of organizations which unite former front-line soldiers, it is forbidden to accept people "who cooperated with crimes by Nazi and/or communist organizations."

The Swedish news agency TT reports that Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt has said that he does not share the opinion of his minister.

The chairman of publications for the Lithuanian parliament Audrjus Azhubalis said November 26th at a briefing in Vilnius that the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry is preparing a note to the Swedish Foreign Ministry concerning Alf Svensson's statement.

Economic Minister Views 1992 Monetary Reform

OW0312003091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonian Economy Minister Jaak Leiman has called the forthcoming monetary reform in the republic "the key event" of next year. He made a speech on Estonia's economic development in 1992 in parliament December 2nd. "I am sure that our economy will face more changes than over the past two years", he pointed out. The minister said prices will become closer to world ones next year. He predicts that shops will be stored with goods and "people will be short of money to buy them."

However, Leiman said that "foreign aid comes slowly and it is much less significant than we have expected." In his opinion, it will remain "insufficient" in future.

Leiman also said that the republic might face unemployment next year.

Sale of Enterprises to Foreigners Approved

OW0312010591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On December 2nd the Estonian Government approved the list of enterprises which can be sold to foreigners, however, with the consent of the parliament. According to Ardo Kamratov, Director General of the State Property Department, for the moment the list includes five enterprises: the "Talleks" amalgamation producing excavators, the "Voit" clothes factory, the Tallinn taxi park, the wool-producing plant in the town of Jogeva and the amalgamation of Tallinn hotels.

Minister on Marketing Difficulties

OW0312002991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonian Material Resources Minister Aleksander Sikkal has stated in Tallinn that apart from problems with raw materials supplies, the republic may also face difficulties in marketing. That is due to the fact that 95% of Estonian-made products are being sold to former Union republics and only 5% to other countries.

Sikkal said Central Asia is particularly interested in Estonian goods. It is preparted to sell cotton to Estonia, as in 1917, but at old prices." [quotation mark as received] Sikkal pointed out that Central Asia wants to freeze trade at the level of 1990 which does not suit Estonia.

As for Russia, Estonia "is still continuing talks on trade with it." Russia intends to sell resources to the Baltics at world prices and for hard currency which in turn runs contrary to Estonia's interests.

Latvia

Defense Adviser on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

OW0212204591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Eriks Tilgass, adviser to the Latvian Government for defense affairs, has told BF [BALTFAX] that the Soviet military have already abandoned 2 buildings in Riga: one is the Officers' House of the former Baltic Military District and the other belonged to the district's headquarters (before WW2 it housed the German Embassy). Currently, the question of transferring the district's museum building to the Latvian Culture Ministry is under discussion.

The USSR Interior Ministry convoy regiment which have guarded Latvian prisons is to leave Riga by January 1st, 1992. According to Mr. Tilgass, the military contingent is also being reduced at training centers in Adazi where the headquarters of the North-Western group (former Baltic Military District) is to move from Riga. Soviet troops have already given up the training bases at Varme near Ventspils and in the Liepae region to Latvian border guards.

Eriks Tilgass also said that in the near future a governmental commission would be set up to control the withdrawal of troops from Latvia and to receive facilities left by the Soviet Army. Latvian State Minister Janis Dinevics is expected to head the commission.

New Minister on Republic's 'Defense Concept'

PM0212165791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Latvian Defense Minister T. Jundzis by Colonel M. Ziyeminsh; date and place not specified: "Latvia. T. Jundzis: 'Of Course, I Served in the Soviet Army...'"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] A Latvian parliament session 19 November examined and approved a candidacy for the post of Latvian defense minister. Following the creation of a Defense Ministry, this post has been introduced for the first time in Latvia's postwar history. The 40-year-old lawyer, Talavs Jundzis, heads the military department.

[Ziyeminsh] Mr. Minister, there is increased interest in the personality of the person holding your present post not only in your own state but also abroad. People would like to know with whom they are dealing or with whom they are to deal. The fact that you are strictly a civilian may, perhaps, be seen as somewhat surprising as far as your appointment is concerned, and your name has, moreover, appeared on the lists of People's Front activists who now have the majority in the Latvian parliament...

[Jundzis] Yes. But I was never a member of the People's Front Board or Council; I was and still am an ordinary member of that sociopolitical organization. To be totally frank, I must say that in 1990 I was a Communist with a six-year record of party membership. I delivered a report on the principles for creating a rule-of-law state at the plenum of Latvia's creative unions in Riga in summer 1988—a very sensational plenum at the time. This was the start of support for my candidacy in the election for the republic Supreme Council and my election as chairman of one of the parliamentary commissions when they were being formed—the commission for defense and internal affairs...

By training I am a lawyer. After university, I worked for more than 10 years in prosecutor's office organs and then at the Latvian Academy of Sciences, in the Institute of Philosophy and Law, where I wrote my candidate of juridical sciences' thesis on problems of criminology. Needless to say, I served in the Soviet Army, in construction troops, in Saratov Oblast.

As for my being "strictly a civilian," I don't think that there is anything surprising in that. Civilians head the military department in many civilized countries of the world.

[Ziyeminsh] You set out the Latvian state's defense concept in detail at the parliamentary session. Can it be considered definitive?

[Jundzis] In terms of its fundamental principles, yes. But all the ideas in the concept will be formulated once and for all in the law on defense. I can say one thing now: We must create the kind of defense system that will ensure

the inviolability of our state's borders and, if necessary, make it possible to wage an effective fight against terrorism.

What forces and means do we have for that? It is my profound conviction that a ground border service should be the main defense system, incorporating rapid-response subunits. In the future, there is also the possibility of creating naval subunits to safeguard our maritime borders. The overall numerical strength of these structures is something in the order of 8,000-9,000 people. It has been decided to place them under the jurisdiction of the Defense Ministry. This is why I have emphasized the latter. The police are also part of the republic's armed formations. But they come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs—an autonomous ministry, so to speak. As you know, the republic is also setting up a people's militia, which is to come under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council...

[Ziyeminsh] Isn't it too heavy a burden for the taxpayers to create and maintain these structures?

[Jundzis] We have estimated that no more than 3-5 percent of the republic's budget will be spent on setting up our own armed formations. Accordingly, in starting the practical work, we proceeded on the premise that no more than 3-5 percent of the budget would be spent on defense, despite the fact that we have to start virtually from scratch. But we will try to keep to that.

Quite recently I acquainted myself with Danish experience of the work of similar formations, which we and the Danes see as an important reserve for swelling the armed forces. The experience was very interesting, and we have thought everything over so as to ensure that the minimum amount of state money is spent on militiamen's military training...

[Ziyeminsh] Quite recently you visited Madrid for the North Atlantic Assembly session as part of a Latvian parliamentary delegation. Discussion followed this important trip as to whether Latvia would rush to join military structures without having had time to clearly legalize its independence...

[Jundzis] This question needs clarification. It was not Latvia alone but representatives of all three Baltic states that were invited to the assembly session in Madrid.

There were also delegations from the USSR and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] there. The Baltic states, like the USSR, had associate status. Our representatives worked on several commissions, including the commission on defense and security. You must realize that there have been radical changes in the military-political situation in Europe and the world as a whole. These changes dictate the need to review military doctrines and the principles of military development.

As you know, there are also changes in NATO strategy: The myth of its aggressiveness was artificially fueled for many years. In these conditions the Baltic is joining the system of collective European security. We want the USSR, the RSFSR, and other states to take an active part in the new structure.

[Ziyeminsh] The question of cadres for Latvia's armed forces is a very difficult one. There are already signs that not everyone interested met with the requisite understanding at the public security department to which they turned for explanations about conditions of service in the Latvian Army...

[Jundzis] Let us clarify terminology again: It is "self-defense forces" rather than "armed forces" that are more appropriate for Latvia's situation. As for cadres, the following are required of them at present: first, loyalty to the Latvian Republic; and, second, knowledge of the state language... It is also clear that the officer corps will mainly be staffed with former Soviet Army officers. We simply have no other choice at present.

Yakovlev Not To Lead USSR Delegation Talks

LD0312102491 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 2030 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Information has been received from the Latvian permanent representative in Moscow, Janis Peters, that the USSR state delegation for talks with Latvia will not be led by Aleksandr Yakovlev. Likewise, Eduard Shevardnadze and Anatoliy Sobchak will not lead talks with Lithuania and Estonia. In their place a special envoy will be appointed. Janis Peters reports the envoy will be Anatoliy Kovalev, the first deputy minister of external relations of the USSR. Thus relations with the Baltics are being handed over to the USSR External Relations Ministry. In Kovalev's view, this means that the talks are being raised to a much higher (?government) level. The new leaders of the state delegation for talks with Lativa, Lithuania, and Estonia [words indistinct].

Janis Dinevics, Latvian minister of state, said that to judge from reports from Moscow, the talks between Latvia and the Union of Sovereign States are being given a more official status. It is expected that soon it will be ascertained through the mediation of the USSR Ministry of External Affairs who will be the representatives in talks with Latvia, and the protocol of the talks will be discussed. Janis Dinevics acknowledged that time will tell whether the aforementioned changes will accelerate or prolong convening the talks.

Official Cited on Position Toward Ukraine

LD0312101791 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1820 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Although the official results of the referendum on Ukrainian independence are not yet known, Latvian politicians are trying to play out the situation in the event that a new state appears on the map of Europe. The Latvian deputy foreign minister on political questions, Martins Virsis, acknowledged that Latvia will express its

position on the possible new state after the Ukrainian Government has assessed the military-political situation in its country, has announced the fate of the nuclear weapons placed on the territory of the republic, and makes its economic strategy known.

Foreign Minister on Anti-Semitism

LD3011185591 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 0900 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Excerpts] On 28 November at a news conference held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Latvian Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans informed journalists about talks in Strasbourg and Stockholm. We have an excerpt from the news conference, in which Mr. Jurkans expresses his opinion about the 25 November statement on the Baltics by Swedish Foreign Aid Minister Alf Svensson. He also gives his opinion about various human rights problems in Latvia.

[Begin Jurkans recording] We held talks with the Swedish foreign minister. You know about the utterances of the Swedish foreign aid minister regarding events in the Baltic states. Some officials tried to explain to me what Mr. Svensson really wanted to say. [passage omitted]

Believe me, very serious concern prevails in Europe that Nazism is making an appearance here, that nationalism is very bad, and that ugly forms are making an appearance. This is either because of a lack of information or deliberate disinformation by some organizations. I think that this is a definite problem. The information we read in the Western press about the Baltic states is very distorted at times. We must work on this very seriously.

You know that if a large part of the Jews who live here think that anti-Semitism prevails in Latvia, or if anti-Semitism makes an appearance or continues—let us put it like that—then we cannot expect that the Jewish organizations in the world will think differently.

You see, we may say that both in our legislation and in a practical way, we were the first who opened a Jewish school [words indistinct] and in the Soviet Union after the war, and that we were the first to have a Jewish magazine. Practically all the Union Jews came to Latvia, even before independence, because it was easier to leave from Latvia for foreign countries. Before independence, the Jews living in Latvia did not have the feeling that there was anti-Semitism here. In contacts with Jewish people, I did not feel this to be the case. Now this has changed. Talking about these matters in the present day, I increasingly hear that there is anti-Semitism in Latvia. How does it manifest itself? It is difficult for me to say as I am not a Jew, so I do not feel nor see it. If there are such feelings, then we must talk about this. I think that journalists should interview the people who feel this way and give the information to the world, as well as make this known to society here in Latvia. By common efforts it must be attempted to prevent anti-Semitism, if it really is so. [end recording]

Lithuania

Russian Treaty Ratification Expected Mid-Dec

OW0212180691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1510 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at a briefing in Vilnius today Mr. Yermolenko, a deputy to the Lithuanian parliament and a member of the Lithuanian delegation at the Lithuanian-Soviet negotiations, said the Lithuanian side expected the Russian-Lithuanian Treaty to be ratified by the parliament of the Russian Federation by the middle of December.

This was the conclusion Mr. Yermolenko had made after his meeting in Vilnius with a delegation of members of the Russian parliament led by the chairman of the parliamentary commission for regional policy, Aleksander Granberg.

Minister on Trade With Russia at World Prices

OW0312010691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1630 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking on Lithuanian TV Deputy Economy Minister of Lithuania Vytas Navickas has said that his republic is prepared to trade with Russia at world prices and to settle in dollars. However, Navickas said, "Russia lags behind in preparation of corresponding documents."

Navickas announced that this question is to be discussed at his meeting with Russian Finance and Economy Minister Yegor Gaydar.

Navickas pointed out that due to Russia's initiative the Lithuanian side is currently preparing draft economic agreements for 1992 on the basis of world prices and settlings in hard currency." Lithuanian experts say the republic could buy from Russia products worth $3 billion and sell its products to it for the same sum.

Republic Solicits Japanese Investment

PM2911135191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Untitled report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, AP, RIA roundup]

[Text] The attempts made by Lithuanian Prime Minister G. Vagnorius, who is in Tokyo, to reach agreement with the Japanese Government on economic cooperation have not been crowned with success.

In response to a proposal that Japanese capital be invested in the Lithuanian economy, the prime minister

received the polite answer that first of all mutual understanding between the two countries needs to be strengthened and that in order for Japanese capital to be invested the economic situation in Lithuanian needs to improve.

Minister on Interstate Agreement With Japan

LD3011114291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Lithuania and Japan have officially agreed to prepare an interstate agreement on the guarantees of investment and export. According to Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius, this is the most important result of his visit to Japan. As is known, this week Gediminas Vagnorius, the only leader from the Baltic states, was taking part in the G-7 session in Tokyo. The agreement on the investment guarantees would allow Japanese companies and banks to credit trade agreements with Lithuania and invest capital here. In the nearest future, seven Lithuanian representatives will go to Japan. They will acquaint themselves with Japan's investment policy and elucidate the circumstances of preparing the agreement.

The other result of the visit by Gediminas Vagnorius is no less important. He succeeded in proving to the G-7 representatives that, in striving to step up reforms in the Soviet Union, Western economic support should be rendered, above all, to the Baltic states. This support must be not less than that to the Soviets because real reforms in the Baltic states would undoubtedly accelerate reforms in the Soviet Union itself.

Gediminas Vagnorius stressed at the 28 November news conference that this stand was supported at the Tokyo meeting. The Lithuanian Government leader also expressed his conviction that corresponding resolutions would be adopted by the G-7 in the nearest future. However, he said, it was difficult to tell how soon they would be implemented. Among other things, the Lithuanian Government expects that Western aid to the Baltic states will be rendered in accordance with two Western programs—the G-7 and the 24 group. The first is destined for the Soviet Union, and the second, for the Baltic states and central Europe. According to Gediminas Vagnorius, Lithuania has so far not received any aid in that program like, let us say, Czechoslovakia or Hungary. On the other hand, we would like the support rendered to Lithuania to differ from that rendered to the Soviet Union. We do not need humanitarian aid in food, etc., but aid which would facilitate the development of the economy, said the head of the government.

From his meetings in Tokyo, Gediminas Vagnorius singled out his conversations with the Japanese MPs [members of parliament] and industrialists. It was agreed that in December and January a large delegation of their representatives would come to Lithuania. It will bring concrete proposals and discuss the implementation of some projects. One of such projects provides for a dispatch of roughly 5,000 Lithuanian workers to work in Japan. They, having acquired experience, could work not only in Japanese companies in Lithuania but also in the country's economy. Japanese businessmen, like those in other states, are attracted by a qualified and exceptionally cheap labor force in the Baltic states. They are interested in the Lithuanian fishing and electronics industries and in some scientific research. It is supposed that the Japanese could assemble here the products of these industries and then export them, above all, to Europe and also to the Soviet Union. The greatest Japanese interest is in these markets.

Discussing the interests of Lithuania, Gediminas Vagnorius stated that the government would grant great privileges and support by every means the establishment of Western firms in Lithuania. It is very important, according to him, that at least several large companies of Japan, the United States, and Germany establish their firms here. We must seek now all nonstandard means of encouraging foreign investment and developing trade for convertible currency. This is a very important condition in supplying Lithuania with the most essential raw materials, said Gediminas Vagnorius.

Chairman Opposes Referendum on Citizenship

OW0112160891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1400 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis has rejected the proposal put forward by some public organizations to hold a referendum on the legitimacy of granting citizenship to people who have arrived in Lithuania after June 15th, 1940. Mr. Landsbergis pointed out that such proposals aggravate the political situation in the republic, stir up ethnic animosity, lead to civil confrontation and instability and strengthen the underground CPSU and KGB structures.

Mr. Landsbergis expressed hope for the triumph of common sense among Lithuanian ordinary people which would prevent them from making hasty decisions.

Letter Sent on Swedish Allegations of Nazism

LD2811185191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Vilnius radio received confirmation this afternoon from officials at the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that a letter has been sent by the Ministry concerning comments made by Swedish Minister Alf Svensson on the processes taking place in the Baltic states.

Because the Swedish Embassy was closed, however, the statement will be handed in tomorrow.

Minister Alf Svensson said among other things to Radio Sweden International that he personally could not support the regimes which are unable to distance themselves

from racism and anti-semitism. Similar statements made by Alf Svensson, the Swedish foreign aid minister [as heard; Svensson is minister for Sweden's cooperation with developing countries], are published in the Swedish press. All this is linked with the possible Swedish aid to the Baltic states.

While maintaining that the rebirth of neo-Nazi tendencies in the Baltic states is taking place, the Swedish minister, apart from other things, maintains that Nazi criminals are being rehabilitated in Lithuania, which has been officially denied by the Lithuanian Government and the General Procuracy on more than one occasion.

Today the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed its displeasure with the statements made by Swedish Minister Alf Svensson.

According to Radio Sweden International, Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt does not support the opinion of his minister. He noted that Swedish aid to the Baltic states is important not only for the development of their economy but also for the development of democracy and establishing legal standards. According to the prime minister, these processes in the Baltic states are proceeding firmly and consistently.

He also reminded that after World War II Sweden returned the Baltic people who served in the German armed forces to the Soviet Union, and said that Swedes today are ashamed of this wrong step.

Rifle Fire Reported at Vilnius Military Base

OW0212180391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1510 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at a briefing in Vilnius today the press secretary of the Lithuanian parliament, Audrius Azubalis, said rifle fire had been heard last night near an army base in the northern part of Vilnius, which lasted for five to seven minutes.

According to the Lithuanian Interior Ministry, three bursts of rifle fire were made. Individual shots were also heard near the commandant's office.

Mr. Azubalis said the command of the relevant unit did not deny the fact of the shooting but claimed this had been a mistake on the part of one of the guards.

Further on Shooting

LD0212165491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Russian 1300 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Interview with Audrius Azubalis, Lithuanian Supreme Council press spokesman, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Unidentified correspondent] What about the shooting within the northern Soviet military garrison in Vilnius—or was it in the vicinity of the garrison?

[Azubalis] It is difficult to say. I only know that an investigation is under way; I mean, the matter is being discussed with the servicemen. The servicemen told us that the shooting took place inside the garrison as a result of the careless handling of weapons. According to some reports available to our services, rounds of machine-gun fire were heard, not within the garrison but around it. There is also a report that a sound bomb was exploded. Also, according to our information, at about 0300 shooting was also heard at the Soviet military commandant's office. All these facts are under investigation and at the moment I cannot say anything more.

Minister Says Situation in Republic 'Ominous'

LD2911232991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2230 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Speaking on the national television yesterday night, the Lithuanian Vice Premier Zigmas Vaisvila gave a warning that the situation in Lithuania was getting ominous.

Grounding his assertion on the information possessed by the Lithuanian State Security Department whose director he is, vice premier claimed that a new putsch was possible in Moscow next week. He pointed out that a clandestine congress of the Communist Party had been recently held in Russia with representatives from Lithuania taking part.

An illegal meeting of representatives of the Soviet Army's special departments is planned to take place in Kiev next week. Representatives of the special or KGB departments of Lithuania-based Soviet Army units are also set to attend the meeting.

The Soviet military in Lithuania make new ultimatums to the republic's state authorities. Noting a link between what was brewing outside Lithuania and internal insinuations, the head of the State Security Department said, among other things, that the press initiated campaign of disclosing alleged KGB agents in the Lithuanian parliament was nothing else but attempts to discredit the people surrounding Chairman of parliament Vytautas Landsbergis, and thus make him resign.

According to Zigmas Vaisvila, the former nomenclatura was striving for power, and by the information of the Security Department, ex-prime minister, MP [member of parliament] Kazimiera Prunskiene, was playing an active role in the dirty game.

Vice Premier Zigmas Vaisvila asserted that Mrs. Kazimiera Prunskiene had been and was still maintaining unofficial contacts with the chiefs of the Soviet KGB, Kryuchkov, and Bakatin. Most likely the aim of the

contact was to obtain discriminating material against members of the Lithuanian parliament, the Lithuanian vice premier said.

He claimed that both before and after the August putsch in the Soviet Union, Kazimiera Prunskiene had had meetings with the staff of the now disbanded Lithuanian branch of the Soviet KGB in order to collect material that interested her.

Vice Premier Zigmas Vaisvila also remarked that Kazimiera Prunskiene's role in the January and August events had not yet been fully disclosed.

Concluding his TV speech, the director general of the State Security Department declared that his statement was forced by circumstances. This is the first time when a state official publicly accused another person of collaboration with the Soviet KGB.

Prunskiene Comments on Landsbergis Policy

LD3011212491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] A TASS correspondent reports from Helsinki: Independence and democracy are equally dear to Lithuanians. Unfortunately, the policy of Vytautas Landsbergis, especially this year, has very little in common with democracy. This is stated by Kazimiera Prunskienne in an interview with the newspaper HELSINKEN SANOMAT.

In reply to a statement by the correspondent that opposition can operate freely, she, as a representative of the Democratic Labor Party, replied: Yes, we are not in prison yet, but there are many other means to restrict our activity and get rid of an unpleasant competitor.

Economic methods are used in the struggle against the independent press, and the government newspapers disseminate inventions in order politically to eliminate the opposition. These are the methods of a totalitarian government, stressed Kazimiera Prunskiene.

The former prime minister thinks that production, especially in agriculture, has sharply declined because of ideologization in economic life. Initiative and responsibility have been eliminated. Former experts have been dismissed, and those who have replaced them do not know how to lead, she notes.

Lithuania's policy toward the Soviet Union has failed completely and does not correspond with the country's interests, states Kazimiera Prunskiene. Lithuania is being led by people who are basing themselves on the aggressive anti-communist ideology and who know nothing about a market economy. They are struggling against former leaders and watch carefully that these people do not get into government. Young and inexperienced Lithuanian politicians have come to power who are insufficiently prepared. They are guided only by anti-communism, she notes.

In her opinion the most important task at present is to normalize political life in the country. Kazimiera Prunskiene states that she intends to continue her political activity and after some time will once again attempt to occupy the post of prime minister.

Official in Moscow Says Coup 'Not Possible'

LD0212181891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Russian 1300 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] The Baltic News Service agency reported that Egidijus Bickauskas, provisional Lithuanian charge d'affairs in Moscow, thinks that a new coup d'etat in the Soviet Union in early December is not possible. Speaking on Lithuanian Television, he assumed that structures for a coup d'etat have not yet established themselves and that at present one could not see who would be able to organize a coup d'etat. Bickauskas thinks, however, that clashes or a mutiny that could be used by the forces surrounding Zhilinovsky are quite possible in January, February, or March. Earlier, on 29 November, Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vaisvila voiced his apprehension concerning the possibility of a coup d'etat in the Soviet Union in the first ten days in December.

Democratic Leader Discusses Political 'Unrest'

OW0212192491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1630 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian Democratic Party of Labor [LDPL] Council headed by Algirdas Brazauskas has made public a statement in Vilnius saying that "political unrest is being stirred up" in the republic.

The statement points out that "behind that is an attempt to identify personal problems of the leaders who have compromised themselves with the fate of Lithuania."

The LDPL is convinced that responsibility for possible consequences lies with those who provoke the unrest. The Party has warned Lithuanian citizens that the ongoing propagandist campaign may be followed by suppression of opposition and independent mass media.

Speaking on TV November 28th Lithuanian Vice-Premier Vaisvila warned against another coup attempt in the republic.

Existence of Lithuanian 'Underground' Eyed

PM0212151791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Captain Second Rank V. Gromak report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "What Underground Do They Mean?"]

[Text] Vilnius—Lithuania's citizens had scarcely come to terms with the idea that Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council Deputy V. Cepaitis, chairman of the parliamentary

Commission on Civil Rights and International Affairs and adviser to the chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council, was actually KGB agent "Juozas," when a new wave of rumors swept across the republic. This time it was about the existence of an underground. "The State Security Department, the police, and the Territorial Protection Ministry possess information on the organization of an underground," Deputy Prime Minister Z. Vaisvila stated recently. In his opinion, Moscow's delaying of interstate talks and the outright blackmail when the military took control of the Moletay military base already vacated by them are a political boost to the armed underground in Lithuania... "It was not enough that we paid the ransom of the Soviet Army," the deputy prime minister said.

But who is in this underground? Z. Vaisvila's answer to that question was very vague: "...Those who lost their positions and who are preparing for revenge."

The newspaper MAZHOYI LETUVA answers this question more candidly. It cites an unidentified representative of the State Security Department, who believes that the terrorist underground in Lithuania is not a local phenomenon. This underground is being created, apparently, across the territory of the former Union by "communist revanchists."

I found a highly detailed report on the theme of the terrorist underground in the weekly POZITSIYA. As the newspaper claims, leaflets were distributed in Vilnius on the eve of the October Revolution anniversary and a shortwave underground radio broadcast was planned at 1900 hours on 7 November. The broadcast did not go out because the police confiscated the cassette recording. Citing high-ranking representatives of the law enforcement agencies, the newspaper notes that the activeness of underground groupings in Vilnius is also because of the fact that there are many Soviet troops in the city.

Who are the participants in the criminal anti-state grouping?, the newspaper asks, and then answers: "They are former KGB staffers and CPSU functionaries." There is no doubt that they have close links with and are given instructions by leaders of the CPSU (Communist Party of Lithuania), who fled Lithuania after the failed putsch. Therefore it is important to secure their extradition to Lithuania at the future talks with Moscow."

V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, has also raised the question of an underground. At a recent news conference at the Supreme Council, he said that the emergence of an armed underground in Lithuania is many times more dangerous than certain other sensations, including the story of the unreliability of Deputy V. Cepaitis.

Five Newspapers Begin 'Warning Strike'

LD0112140491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2230 30 Nov 91

[Text] Five major Lithuanian dailies have begun a warning strike against the government's policy towards non-governmental press. LIETUVOS RYTAS, RESPUBLIKA, TIESA, VAKARINES NAUJIENOS and VALSTIECIU LAIKRASTIS have come out today with their pages white and empty of any printed material except a statement to the Lithuanian Government on the front page.

The statement demands that the government stop exercising economic and political pressure on non-governmental press, reverse its decision to hand over VALSTIECIU LAIKRASTIS to the Ministry of Agriculture, and make no attempts to nationalize independent newspapers that formerly belonged to the Communist Party.

The five newspapers are threatening to continue the strike next week in case the government does not respond to their demands by Monday [2 December] morning.

'Intrigues' of KGB Agents Said To Continue

OW0112141291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1100 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Commenting on a report in the newspaper "LIETUVOS AYDAS" accusing the leader of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, MP [member of parliament] Aloizas Sakalas, of being linked with the KGB, a member of the pary's council Algirdas Abromaitis said: "Intrigues of the KGB agents continue."

Noting that recently another deputy, the Independence Party leader Virgilius Cepaitis, was charged with the same, Mr. Abromaitis emphasized that such actions are the result of two tendencies.

The first tendency is, in his opinion, the intestine [as received] struggle led by various political forces of Lithuania. And the second one is "the aspiration of external forces to split the internal political life of Lithuania."

Subsidies Boosted To Meet Price Increase

LD0212032191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] In accordance with a decision of the Lithuanian Government on increasing salaries, pensions, and other social payments to meet increases in the prices of goods beginning today, the minimum living income for residents of the republic stands at 400 rubles. Minimum levels of tax-free income have been set at 460 rubles for group one invalids, at 410 rubles for group two invalids and at 360 rubles for group three invalids. For individuals with three or more children under the age of 18 it is 410 rubles. For others it is 30 [figure as heard] rubles.

Starting today, the limit on general coupons issued to one individual in one month for the purchase of food and industrial goods will be 300 coupons at nominal value.

The same decision increases the pay of staff in official institutions and organizations by 40 percent.

Interrepublic Affairs

Officials Comment on Ukrainian Independence

Yeltsin Recognizes Independence

LD0212214591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 2 Dec 91

[From the "Vesti" Newscast]

[Text] The Russian president has stated his recognition of Ukraine's independence in accordance with the democratic expression of its people's will. Boris Yeltsin expressed his conviction of the possibility of and need for most rapidly establishing new interstate relations between Russia and Ukraine, to include diplomatic relations, and his confidence that Ukraine acknowledges and will observe all international conventions on the limitation and nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and will ensure its own nuclear-free status. In addition, of key significance is his confidence that the observation of human rights and freedoms is guaranteed in accordance with generally acknowledged international norms. The president stressed that the new partnership between Russia and Ukraine, two sovereign states, will be a weighty contribution to security and stability in the continent of Europe and throughout the world. A full text of the statement is to be published in the press.

Kozyrev Congratulates Zlenko

LD0212180191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1705 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Dec (TASS)—The course aimed at strengthening relations of friendship and cooperation between Russia and the Ukraine was confirmed during a telephone conversation today between their foreign ministers, Andrey Kozyrev and Anatoliy Zlenko.

The Ukrainian minister informed his Russian colleague of the results of the referendum on independence held in Ukraine and also on the Ukrainian presidential elections. Andrey Kozyrev conveyed his congratulations and good wishes in connection with the events that had taken place.

The ministers confirmed their aspiration to deepen mutual relations through their departments on the basis of the treaty concluded between Russia and Ukraine and other Russian-Ukrainian documents. It was stressed in particular that relations between the two sovereign states are being built on the basis of absolute recognition of choice made as a result of the free expression of the will of peoples.

Silayev on 'Foreign State'

LD0212150591 Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Batyrev]

[Text] Paris December 2 TASS—"If the Ukraine decides to break off ties with the economic union, we shall be building relations with it as with a foreign state", Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee, said in an interview with the Parisian newspaper LE FIGARO, published today. This, specifically, means that trade with the Ukraine will be in freely convertible currency in accordance with world prices. Silayev said that if the Ukrainian national currency is created, it will not be accepted by the Union. "The Ukrainian economy is not ready for all these measures. The Ukraine will suffer heavy losses if it decides to isolate itself from other republics".

Silayev said the question of borders poses danger. "There will be the danger of a dramatic clash as soon as borders are established. Each side will have its own notion of developments on the basis of history. There is even the danger of an armed conflict. Suffice it to recall the Crimea".

"There are no borders between the republics so far. There is an administrative division between them which cannot be compared to state borders. There are no borders between the Ukraine and Russia. In order to establish state frontiers it is necessary to make a recourse to the past, to some or other treaty, to some or other period in history, to statements by Bogdan Khmelnitskiy or Gengis Khan", Silayev said.

There will be tragic conflicts if this road is taken, he said. "The Russian people do not agree that the Crimea which was won over by Russians after the struggle lasting many centuries should become Ukrainian by historic oversight. We shall naturally raise the question of the Crimea if the Ukraine unilaterally proclaims itself an independent state".

In order to avoid this danger, the Ukraine should not quit our new Union, Silayev said. "The proclamation of independence does not necessarily entail quitting the Union. All the republics have already proclaimed independence, but they have all joined the economic Union in the end", he said.

Further on Silayev's Comments

OW0212160391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1445 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Chairman of the Inter-Republican Economic Committee Ivan Silayev has expressed complete agreement with the USSR President Gorbachev's opinion that if the Ukraine votes for independence, it need not mean its automatic break with the Union. He said so to Soviet

and foreign journalists before meeting with the U.S. ambassador Robert Strauss.

"Many republics have proclaimed their independence. Only Russia", he smiled, "is still legally dependent. The matter is what steps are taken next".

Replying an INTERFAX correspondent Ivan Silayev explained that Vnesheconombank announced a freeze on currency payment to enterprises in the absence of it president who was abroad. "The question will be considered at the conference of the head of states opening on Tuesday [3 December]. I don't think the situation calls for this, anyway— an intention is not a fact".

Supreme Soviet

Chairman Khasbulatov Interviewed on Reform

LD3011204391

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1652 GMT on 30 November, in the "Russian Parliamentary Herald" program, broadcast an interview with Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet, by an unidentified interviewer.

Asked what problems now confront the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, Khasbulatov said that the primary problem is to fill the decisions of the previous Congress of People's Deputies with specific contents. The Supreme Soviet sees its task as creating the necessary legal conditions to make economic reform a reality. Other important legislation is being put to one side in order to help Yeltsin and the government radicalize economic reform. "Practically the whole Supreme Soviet agrees with this," Khasbulatov said.

The interviewer remarked that although the Supreme Soviet wishes to help the government, it has demonstrated that it does not intend to pass all responsibility for economic reform to the government. The interviewer mentioned the example of the decree on the state bank, which has basically been left under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Soviet. Khasbulatov argued that this example should not be used in isolation and should not give rise to surprise. At one time both Yeltsin and Khasbulatov defended the necessity of parliamentary control of the banks, so there is no reason to change policy now.

Khasbulatov said: "This is not the point, but I would like to say that somehow, both in society and on the pages of the press, in my opinion, these relations are not perceived correctly. The Supreme Soviet is ready to back up, even radicalize to the greatest possible extent, any proposals of the government. It is a matter of competence and of a qualified approach.

"That is the first thing. Second, it is a question of the necessity of the coordination of actions, of the agreement of actions. If our normative documents prepared by the government are of poor quality, we will naturally either amend them or reject them." This is the constitutional duty of the Supreme Soviet. Proposals have to be thoroughly prepared.

Khasbulatov replied to criticism that the Supreme Soviet is the bulwark of the totalitarian regime by referring to the Supreme Soviet's record in setting up the presidential form of government, its changing of the economic system, and its behavior during the August coup. "During the last year and a half, the Supreme Soviet has become almost professional," he said. There are many talented deputies. "One should in no way imagine that some kind dilettantes are sitting in the Supreme Soviet. We have already passed through this stage. This could have been said a year and a half ago to a certain extent."

Khasbulatov then quoted a Yeltsin comment that give and take between government and parliament is normal practice, to which people have not yet become accustomed. "There is no other alternative in a democratic society. I do not want to start criticizing the press. They have also not become accustomed to this. They are not used to it. That is why it seems that any critical remark from one side or the other is unusual and that there is something lurking behind it. They start searching for some kind of undercurrents, but there are not any here. It is simply a question of the clear-cut delimitation of responsibility." This is what deputies have been fighting for, and it is constitutionally enshrined.

Asked to describe the situation in the oblasts and former autonomous republics of the Russian Federation, Khasbulatov said: "The situation is not calm in our ethnic republics. We all know about the events in Chechen-Ingushetia—the whole world does. There is also ferment in the Caucasus, in the North Caucasus; that is, even in our republics." He said: "I would like to say once more that here, both the Supreme Soviet and the president and the government are taking a very fair stance aimed at ensuring people's interests. We are not attempting to exert some kind of pressure on anyone. Of course, as a country that has begun taking the path of profound transformations, we cannot fail to express concern regarding certain undemocratic methods. We regard the rights of peoples to self-determination and the choice of governmental form with enormous respect." He added: "The republics wanted to elect a president. The Supreme Soviet adopted a decision that if the population of our republics, the Russian republics, considers it necessary to elect their president—we adopted a decision on this at the last congress. We included it in the Constitution. So we can say: What is hindering you? If something is hindering you, address the Supreme Soviet or the Supreme Soviet Presidium. We will put it forward and adopt the necessary decision, reflecting the people's interests."

Khasbulatov called for calm and said that everyone makes mistakes, including himself and the Supreme Soviet. Basically, the difficult situation in the RSFSR is

connected with the worsening of the economy. "Speaking for myself, I have been dreaming of these reforms for 20 years, and not just since April 1985." He commented that much time has been wasted destroying state structures and not building new ones.

Draft Law on Mass Media Adopted 27 Nov

LD2911144791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] The draft Russian law on the mass media was adopted at its first reading by the session of the Soviet of the Republic of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet on 27 November. In part, the law contains an article prohibiting censorship. Abuse of the freedom of mass information is also prohibited; that is the use of the mass media to publish state secrets, make calls to seize power, or propagate war.

Secret video and audio recordings are allowed unless they degrade the honor and dignity of citizens and officials, and if necessary for the protection of public interests. The activities of the mass media can be suspended or halted, according to the draft, only by decision of the founder or a court.

Broadcasting erotic programs is allowed only from 2300 to 0400 local time, if local administration bodies do not stipulate another time.

Resolution on Banking System Issues Adopted

PM0212152791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet resolution dated 22 November 1991: "On Financial and Credit Support for Economic Reform and the Reorganization of the RSFSR Banking System"]

[Text] With a view to supporting actions and measures to implement economic reform, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To recognize the RSFSR Central Bank as the sole organ on RSFSR territory for state money credit and foreign currency regulation of the republic's economy, the main aim of which is to strengthen the ruble.

2. Before 1 January 1992 the RSFSR Central Bank must take into its full economic charge and administration the material and technical base and other resources of the USSR Gosbank [state bank] as of 22 November 1991, as well as its network of institutions, enterprises, and organizations located on RSFSR territory.

The procedure for acceptance and transfer of the aforementioned property and facilities is to be defined by the RSFSR Central Bank.

3. The USSR Gosbank's functions of issuing money and setting the ruble's exchange rate are to be entrusted to the RSFSR Central Bank until a banking union is established.

4. The RSFSR Central Bank is to open appropriate accounts for the USSR Gosbank to carry out operations for the cash implementation of the Union budget and the servicing of the USSR's internal state debt.

5. Before 15 December 1991 the RSFSR Central Bank is to register the USSR Vneshekonombank [bank for foreign economic activity] as a commercial bank carrying out transactions connected with servicing the USSR's foreign debt and is to monitor its daily activity.

6. By 15 December 1991 the RSFSR Central Bank is to submit a report on the bank's activity for examination by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

7. The Soviet of the Republic Commission on the Budget, Plans, Taxes, and Prices is instructed to submit for examination by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in December 1991 an RSFSR draft law on introducing amendments to the RSFSR Laws "On the RSFSR Central Bank (Bank of Russia)" and "On Banks and Banking Activity in the RSFSR," bearing in mind the RSFSR president's proposals.

The formulation of RSFSR draft laws on the RSFSR monetary system and the RSFSR state debt is to be expedited and they are to be submitted for examination by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in December 1991.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
House of the Soviets, Moscow, RSFSR, 22 November 1991

Supreme Soviet 'Conflict' With Executive Denied

PM0312094391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Parliamentary observer Olga Burkaleva report: "Fourth Session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. In the Interests of the Individual"]

[Text] The Law on RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Citizenship adopted by the Russian Parliament yesterday is intended to ensure the implementation of the norms and principles of international law and the RSFSR Constitution relating to citizenship and human rights. It also guarantees the creation of the most favorable legal conditions for every citizen of the Russian Federation and protection and patronage of its citizens when abroad.

In the interests of the individual, the law will introduce the institution of triple [troynoy] citizenship based on international agreements. The institution of citizenship

recognition and citizenship registration will be introduced side by side with the normal acceptance [priyem] into citizenship.

The institutions of the restoration of RSFSR citizenship and discontinuance of RSFSR citizenship are also envisaged.

Then L. Bochin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Antimonopoly Policy and Support for New Economic Structures, presented the Law on the Protection of Citizens and Consumers. He said that this draft law is intended to balance the interests of entrepreneurs and all citizens and consumers.

The deputies asked a number of questions and noted the good conceptual work done on the draft law. According to the regulations, in two weeks the deputies will make a start on its first reading, by which time the document should have been discussed in committees and commissions. The draft law was presented on the initiative of Russian President B. Yeltsin.

Before lunch the deputies had time to listen to an announcement by S. Krasavchenko, chairman of the Committee for Questions of Economic Reform and Property, on the documents that had been sent to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet from the Russian Government and president. He said that despite the sensational mass media statements about an alleged incipient conflict between the executive and legislative authorities, in his view the normal process of seeking and elaborating mechanisms for cooperation is going on. A commission was set up to deal with legislative provision for presidential decrees connected with economic reform.

Certain decrees provoked questions from the deputies—for example, on the Russian Academy of Sciences.

The deputies decided to investigate this question, which was highlighted by V. Sheynis. The problem is as follows: Giving property to the academy essentially means giving it to the Academy of Sciences Presidium, and given the conflict between the academy leadership and the academic institutes, the latter could find themselves in a very delicate position.

The deputies went on to decide some personnel questions.

Commission To Check Deputy's KGB Admission

LD0112003191 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2327 GMT 29 Nov 91

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Commission was set up at closed session of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet November 29 to consider consequences of statement sent by People's Deputy Yevgeniy Kim to RSFSR KGB and published in GOLOS weekly (No. 46).

In his statement of November 15 Ye. Kim admits that in 1970-1989 he worked as a part-time operative for the KGB department in Ulyanovsk region and writes that his cooperation is no longer needed. Ye. Kim asks to consider all his previous written reports to KGB invalid.

The publication in GOLOS weekly is accompanied by a commentary of the magazine's correspondent, Yevgeniy Krutikov. When this question was considered by the Russian Supreme Soviet, it turned out that most parliamentarians were ill informed. Some deputies recommended Ye. Kim to sue the weekly for slander; others called on all former secret informers to stand up and openly admit their fault.

RSFSR People's Deputy Lev Ponomarev proposed that those who had cooperated with KGB were given a chance to give up their membership in the Supreme Soviet under any face-saving pretext. L. Ponomarev told PF [POSTFACTUM] November 27 that this was the only thing he could recommend Ye. Kim, his former comrade-in-arms in the Democratic Russia Movement.

Ye. Kim on his part told PF that it was too late to leave quietly. He confirmed the authenticity of the published statement and told the Supreme Soviet that the publication had appeared as a step in the campaign which had been carried on most intensely for a month. Some deputies believe that the publication of the secret document is somehow connected with Ye. Kim's relations with the top officials of the Ulyanovsk region. Ye. Kim said that the copies of the publication in the Sunday (November 24) issue of GOLOS were stuck to the walls of the Ulyanovsk factory of heavy and unique tools where Ye. Kim worked already on Monday [25 November]. Ye. Kim told PF he knew how his statement got to GOLOS editorial board, though he could not yet reveal it.

Head of the public relations department of the RSFSR Federal Security Agency Andrey Olegov said that his agency also had some information about this. Olegov told PF that according to his information Ye. Kim was made to send his statement to KGB. There was some pressure and blackmail, said he. According to some members of the State Security [Committee], there is a secret instruction that the file on a secret informer should be disposed of the moment he is elected to some state body.

The first reaction of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to the publication in GOLOS weekly was to exclude Ye. Kim from the RSFSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, which is to pay an official visit to the Republic of Korea December this year, said Vyacheslav Volkov, cochairman of the Democratic Russian faction.

First Deputy Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Sergey Filatov believes that this was the end of Kim's political career and that the whole incident was nothing but a planned provocation aimed at discrediting the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

The leaders of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet entrusted the RSFSR Federal Security Agency to investigate the case. The corresponding parliamentary commission was headed by the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Human Rights Sergey Kovalyov. The deputies were recommended to refrain from commentaries for the press at the close session of the Russian Supreme Soviet November 8.

Presidium Holds 'Routine' Meeting 2 Dec

LD0312093991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2200 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] A routine meeting of the Presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet was held in Moscow today. It was chaired by Khasbulatov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet. There was a presentation of a number of draft laws that have been sent for discussion in committees and commissions, and other issues were considered.

Agrees To Pay Union Debt

OW0212213791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1945 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [2 December], the Presidium of the Russian Federation's parliament agreed to provide 25.9 billion rubles for the Union's defence needs and for the repayment of its external and internal debts. IF's [INTERFAX's] parliamentary correspondent reports that the Presidium has allowed Russia's central bank to print 36.5 billion rubles and give them to the Russian Government for financing the enterprises which have switched over to Russia's jurisdiction.

Vice-Premier, Yegor Gaydar, informed the leaders of the parliament, that during the Saturday [30 November] talks, Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin reached an agreement on financing the union budget on which Russia insisted.

For instance, all the republics which intend to join the Union of Sovereign States were proposed to cut their budget spending by at least 15 per cent. Mr. Gaydar said that thus more than 11 billion rubles could be saved. He also noted that the two sides had expressed the general understanding that the budgets of the Union and of the Russian Federation should be implemented in close coordination, so Russia could control the process.

The Presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet has also discussed Boris Yeltsin's letter to the parliament concerning the law on increasing the minimal wage which he had passed. Boris Yeltsin proposed fixing the minimal wage at 200 rubles. However, the deputies raised it to 342 rubles. In his message to the parliament, Boris Yeltsin said he would not use his right to veto this law. At the same time, he requested that this law go into effect on January 1, not December 1, motivating his request by the fact that it was impossible to put out the required amount of banknotes.

The Russian Federation's state adviser Sergey Shakhray, told IF that Boris Yeltsin would veto another document adopted by the parliament—the law on the legal regulation of the work of the territorial and regional soviets.

The Presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet will discuss both of these letters at the parliament's session on December 5.

Supports Delaying Minimum Wage Hike

LD0312065691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 2 Dec 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has asked parliament to postpone the increase of the minimum wage from 180 to 342 rubles. He explained his request by arguing that a sharp increase in the budget deficit will follow if the law is introduced now. According to Sergey Shakhray, the wage increase will require printing 500, 1000, and 3000 ruble banknotes. This will be possible only after the new year. The Russian parliament's presidium supports the president's request.

Drafts Agreement With Armenia

OW0212213091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1945 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to well-informed sources in the Russian parliament, on Monday [2 December], the leaders of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet and Ministry of Foreign Relations began to draft a bilateral agreement between the Russian Federation and Armenia.

International Affairs

Foreign Minister Returns From Canada, U.S.

Comments on Canadian Visit

LD3011111491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2355 GMT 28 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Valentin Vasilets]

[Text] Ottawa, 29 Nov (TASS)—Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev paid a one-day working visit to Canada on 28 November, during which he held a series of meetings with representatives of the government, leading political parties, and parliamentarians. An exchange of opinions on a broad range of international problems and questions of bilateral relations took place during a 90-minute conversation with Barbara McDougall, Canadian minister of external affairs.

The main reason I have come here, A. Kozyrev said in a conversation with a TASS correspondent, is to hand over a note from the Russian Federation president to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. This was done. The point of the note is to inform our Canadian partners of the content and the main direction of those reforms on which we have embarked. We are counting on Canada's understanding of what we are doing and in which areas we would like to develop cooperation, taking into consideration the critical situation in Russia and other republics. We have not raised the question of any specific aid but dealt more with technical and humanitarian assistance. The note, the minister continues, also gives our appraisal of certain foreign policy events, in particular the NATO session in Rome. It gives a positive outline of the Union's evolution which was set out there. The note also emphasizes our desire for cooperation with the Western community as a whole. We believe that Canada is not only an important partner in bilateral relations. It is also a member of the "Seven" leading industrial powers and a member of NATO.

As far as the conversation with the minister is concerned, A. Kozyrev went on, it was a very interesting one. Essentially, it was a continuation of those contacts which we have already had. Among other subjects covered were questions of economic cooperation. Here, it seems to me, we have Canada's readiness to participate in such cooperation. Problems often arise from our side, for example our unreadiness to clearly formulate some of our own demands and to offer clear opportunities for investment, although we are now working in this direction. During the course of implementing the reforms, certain steps have already been taken which are generally viewed here positively as a move in the right direction. I was greatly impressed by the readiness of the Canadians for a sincere, frank, and friendly dialogue. We have common problems and similar approaches.

Replying to a question as to whether a visit by B.N. Yeltsin to Canada was raised, the minister answered in the affirmative. We had already agreed earlier in principle, he said, but now we have confirmed that we shall work on giving substance to this visit. The time frame has not yet been determined, but in A. Kozyrev's opinion, the visit will probably take place next year.

The Russian minister also had a meeting with members of the Commons Foreign Policy and International Trade Committee, at which he replied to numerous questions from members of parliament [MPs], mainly concerning the situation in the Soviet Union, the progress of reforms in the Russian Federation, possible consequences of the referendum in Ukraine, and control of the nuclear arsenal. In particular, touching on the problem of Russian recognition of Ukraine's independence, A. Kozyrev observed that a political and legal basis for such a step could be provided by the bilateral treaty signed a year ago, the document on interstate relations, and also the communique on the meeting between B. Yeltsin and Yu. Kravchuk, chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Soviet. In the minister's view, this is a very difficult question—historically and emotionally, it could have many practical consequences—but the minister sees no insuperable obstacles to recognition of an independent Ukraine if such is the result of the referendum. Regarding nuclear weapons control, mutual understanding exists between Russia and Ukraine, Kozyrev noted. Weapons will be under the control of a unified central command. The MPs were interested in what Russia thought Canada could do to help ensure success of reforms. A. Kozyrev believes that what is needed first of all is immediate humanitarian aid in the form of food and medicine. Second, Russia needs technical assistance to carry out reforms. Groups of Western experts are needed in the most varied spheres to share their experience, in building a modern banking system, for example. Third, there could be a question of aid in implementing specific programs, the land privatization plan, for example. A large role could also be played by material assistance, as well, such as supplies of small-scale machinery for family farms.

A. Kozyrev also had conversations with members of the Liberal and New Democratic Parties and foreign policy officials. He also met with Deputy Finance Minister David Dodge, who took part in the recent G-7 talks in Moscow as head of the Canadian delegation.

Further on Kozyrev's Comments

LD0112095691 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT 30 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—Russia is facing the task of defining more clearly its own status as a state and joining international monetary-financial funds and institutions on its own, because the Union can no longer act as a state fully responding for the financial commitments it assumed and controlling its territory, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told TASS today after returning from a trip to the United States and Canada.

Russia needs now not "separate credits, but a comprehensive programme of assistance in the implementation of the reform, drawn up with due account for the world experience and covering the whole of the national economy," he said. The programme could be worked out by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

In the opinion of Kozyrev, Russia, the same as other republics, could join those institutions not only in a coordinated way, after reaching agreement with each other, but also on an individual basis as sovereign states. "In this case an alliance between the republics would be advantageous and necessary, and it would be the best way out," he believes.

Speaking about the results of his visit to the United States, Kozyrev said that the U.S. would soon submit to Russia proposals on 10 to 12 joint projects, which will

have government guarantees, and would suggest ways of removing obstacles on the way of U.S. investments in the Russian economy.

Kozyrev Meets Former Japanese Foreign Minister

LD0312103191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Dec 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A meeting between Foreign Affairs Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Mr. Nakayama, former Japanese foreign minister and member of parliament, took place tonight in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Mr. Nakayama, a doctor by profession, has been talking about his plans for organizing humanitarian aid to Russia, including medical aid. Andrey Kozyrev noted that the very existence of democratic Russia is a substantial factor for stability of the international situation, in which Japan is naturally interested.

Kozyrev on Vatican Trip, Western Relations

92UF0254A Moscow TRUD in Russian 16 Nov 91 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev by TRUD correspondent P. Negoitsa: "Time To Dispel the Fog—The Russian Foreign Minister on Our Relations with the Western Countries"]

[Text] Rome, 15 November—**Before the end of this year Italy will receive a visit from Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. This was announced in Rome at the conclusion of official meetings between Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev and Italian President F. Cossiga, head of government G. Andreotti, and Foreign Minister De Michelis. The main meaning of the negotiations was that Italy and Russia intend on actively developing bilateral relations.**

Before his departure for Moscow, the Russian minister granted the TRUD correspondent an interview.

"Perhaps for the first time Italy and, more broadly, West Europe are," Andrey Vladimirovich said, "prepared to accept bold and decisive action on our part. Whereas previously the emphasis was put mainly on what was old and customary for them—preservation of the USSR, for example—there has now been a perceptible change. The West is no longer trying to persuade us. People are prepared here for us to decide our questions ourselves. Will we remain a part of some Union? They will deal with us. If we do not wish to remain in the Union? The West is prepared to have relations with the sovereign state-republics, but Western politicians would like to know what the nature of the policy of the state or states will be. Conditions are now being presented here for the first time: These are primarily the inviolability of borders, observance of human rights, and observance of the disarmament accords—just as you like. The level of the negotiations showed that Italy sees Russia as a partner toward which it may direct its attention."

[Negoitsa] Did you in your meetings in Rome raise the problem of Italy's allocation of credit and assistance to our country?

[Kozyrev] Italian politicians are prepared to examine various options, but I personally ask myself: Are we ourselves prepared to have relations with the surrounding world? This is not entirely clear for two reasons: The first is our understanding of ourselves, our self-perception. If Russia is a sovereign state and a subject of relations, for which the West is prepared, we need in this case to clearly part company—to negotiate the extent of our competence and that of the Union structures. After all, if you look closely it is a question in practice merely of the Russian Federation since the other republics virtually do not recognize the center. The result is that it is necessary in one country to deal with two governments. The most pressing question is who would be responsible for the credits? There is the old credit, and there are new subjects asking for credit. For the West this is inconceivable. Italy, for example, is prepared to grant credit, even modest free assistance to Russia, but....

[Negoitsa] What is the holdup in this case?

[Kozyrev] We must say clearly who we are.

[Negoitsa] What is the second reason for the lack of clarity on the question of credit?

[Kozyrev] The terms on which they would be granted. On what do we wish to spend the credit? I was shown documents in this connection in Rome which create a strange impression. For the Italians they are unconvincing. When Mikhail Gorbachev asked for credit, it was a question of it being used in two or three priority programs. Studies of these programs were awaited from Moscow. Now, however, from the papers which were sent just one thing is clear: Using the credit to stop up one hole or another was anticipated.

In holding up the credit the Italians are acting like true friends. After all, proceeding from selfish interests, as we often imagine them to be, they could give us the money and—spend it how you like. They, it transpires, are displaying more concern for our future than we ourselves.

We are now sliding down to the level of underdeveloped countries, where credit disappears as if into the sand. I have hopes in the Russian Government which has been formed. The sole chance is for it to look into the credit granted our country and give the West an articulate answer as to how it intends to dispose of it. It would seem to me that the West's demands of us are in this case justified.

[Negoitsa] You know, Andrey Vladimirovich, that the possibilities of NATO cooperation with the former participants in the Warsaw Pact will be discussed in Brussels on 20 December. Will Russia send a separate delegation to Brussels or will it be part of the Union delegation?

[Kozyrev] I am not prepared to answer this question at this time. Let us see how the situation develops. When the Union structures attempt to portray in the international arena the USSR as it was five years ago, this is self-deception and deception of its partner. This does not enhance its prestige, the more so in that its partners can see everything full well. In just the same way it would be self-deception were Russia to pretend that there is no longer anything left of the Union. There is a danger that after a certain length of time our partners would become disenchanted with us and would write us off as a third-rate country. We would disappear from the front pages, we would be forgotten about, and we would then lose the status of great power. Russia is a great power.

[Negoitsa] Italy and other Western countries are worried about problems of security on the European continent. Is it not time for the republics which have declared their sovereignty to assume international commitments on questions of the preservation of peace and stability in Europe? Or would we thereby be acknowledging the actual collapse of the Union?

[Kozyrev] This is an objective problem. Now the Union is bound by a whole number of international treaties. The republics are not bound by these treaties. The Union, for example, is bound by the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the republics are not. This worries the West, bearing in mind what is happening in our country, but if the new sovereign states are now to start signing international accords, there arises the question: Does the Union exist? It is therefore necessary to dispel the fog as quickly as possible and to honestly recognize the real state of affairs. Let the republics subscribe to treaties and assume commitments: on questions of disarmament, on human rights, etc. Or let agreement definitely be reached on the Union. This needs to be done quickly. When the pope of Rome is chosen in the Vatican, the cardinals are locked in the Sistine Chapel and not let out until the pope is named. Perhaps this is how we should act with the presidents of the republics too? Lock them in and not let them out until agreement has been reached on the fate of the Union. It should be recognized that the continued uncertainty is quite dangerous.

[Negoitsa] What was useful that you brought from your discussion in the Vatican, incidentally?

[Kozyrev] The Vatican would like to maintain relations with Russia. It has a sincere desire to develop dialogue. I believe that the Vatican could help Russia to a large extent, in organizing support for the poor, the crippled, and invalids, at which the Vatican has been preeminently successful. The Vatican's new role in social and political life is a together of interest. It is today not only a religious but a social institution. I would not want to make any recommendations; the Orthodox Church itself knows how it should build mutual relations and policy, but it seems to me that the Vatican's experience is in many respects exceptional.

[Negoitsa] The name of the Union is changing, but the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic will remain?

[Kozyrev] Russian Federation would suit me, without the other additions.

Fedorov Denies Claims on Handing Over Islands

LD0112064391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0535 GMT 1 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Agarkov; all quotation marks as received]

[Text] Tokyo, 1 Dec (TASS)—Valentin Fedorov, head of the administration of Sakhalin Oblast who is continuing a working trip around Japan, has firmly denied claims which appeared recently in the Japanese media on his alleged agreement to hand over to Japan the islands of Habomai. "Reports have appeared in Japanese newspapers," V.P. Fedorov told the TASS correspondent today, "which were subsequently reprinted by the Russian press, alleging that I spoke out in favor of handing over to Japan the group of islands on the southern part of the Kuril ridge, referred to in Japan as Habomai. I stress that such reports are not true."

My aim, as governor of Sakhalin Oblast, of which the southern Kuril Islands are an inalienable and integral part, is to achieve good-neighborly and friendly relations with Japan; the earliest reciprocal abolition of visas; the removal of other obstacles in relations, in particular economic relations; and the preservation of the Kuril Islands as a unique monument to nature, open to the inhabitants of both countries for visits," the statement by the head of the Sakhalin administration says. "State policy should serve people, not the other way around," it adds.

"We should not embark upon the path of reviewing national borders but should eliminate, step by step, the borders, in the end maintaining only their symbolic significance, Valentin Fedorov noted. "Japanese inhabitants will always be able to count upon cordial hospitality in Sakhalin Oblast."

Comments on Possible Unrest

LD0212125391 Moscow TASS in English 1227 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo December 2 TASS—If the Russian Government decides to return the four South Kuril islands to Japan, a wide protest movement, including strikes, will sweep the Soviet Far East, the Sakhalin administration head Valentin Fedorov told TASS before leaving Japan after a week-long visit today.

According to Valentin Feodorov, "the Kurils were and always will be ours". He said appeals to past international treaties to substantiate the need to turn the northern territories over to Japan hold no water.

"Today's problems must be solved by modern methods, instead of pulling reality back towards the past," he said.

Fedorov believes a way out of the impasse can be found through creating a Far Eastern version of the European Community and the gradual demolition of state borders and customs barters.

Fedorov suggests the first, modest step in this direction is to establish an international nature reserve on the Kuril islands and part of the Japanese northern island of Hokkaido.

"But this proposal has met with no support in Tokyo which sticks to its rigid demand that the northern territories be turned over to its jurisdiction," Fedorov concluded after numerous meetings with government officials and representatives of the Japanese business community.

"Because of this we now have a new proposal to make in the interests of bringing the two countries close together: Why shouldn't we abolish entry visas to the Sakhalin region and Hokkaido for their inhabitants?"

"It is unwise to try to hurt our sense of dignity while we are in a crisis," Fedorov stressed.

"Difficulties will pass, but Russia will stand for centuries", he said.

"If, despite our efforts, the decision is made to turn the four islands over to Japan, we shall not be silent. I will call Russia to active resistance. There will be strikes, including a general strike in the Far East... The defence of Russia's interests will rise from below, from the people and we shall seek strength in this support".

Parliamentary Delegation Visits Germany

LD2911024191 Moscow TASS in English 2149 GMT 27 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Bonn November 27 TASS—The establishment of direct contacts between parliamentarians of Russia and Germany and the study of experience amassed by the Bundestag, its factions and commissions were central in the trip to the Federal Republic of Germany of a delegation of Russian people's deputies representing all 14 factions in the Russian parliament.

During their two-day visit to the German capital, Russian deputies familiarized themselves with the organisation of work in the German parliament. They attended a plenary meeting and held numerous conversations in parliamentary factions and commissions.

Russian democracy is in the throes, therefore any experience of parliamentary activities in other countries may come in handy, Russian delegation leader Vladimir Novikov told a news conference here.

In order to maintain regular contacts with the Bundestag, a working group will soon be set up in the Russian parliament.

Speaking on behalf of the parties of the centre, faction leader Andrey Golovin pointed out that Russia has no experience of parliamentary democracy.

A representative of the left forces in the Russian parliament Grigoriy Bondarev, one of the leaders of the amalgamated faction of republicans and social democrats, said it is necessary to maintain equilibrium among the parliament, the president and the constitutional court. He said the failure of reforms can bring about disaster, boosting new Russian nationalism tending towards a fascist dictatorship.

In order to suppress them, the country's leaders will have to resort to authoritarian methods which will spell out the end of democracy.

Communists of Russia faction leader Ivan Rybkin noted that faction members support scheduled economic reforms, the multi-mode economy and a variety of forms of ownership.

Along with this, they favour attracting professionals to direct the process and are opposed to amateurishness at all levels.

Parliamentarians Meet Europarliament Delegation

LD2811235391 Moscow TASS in English 2120 GMT 28 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Petukhov]

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—The development of parliamentary contacts between Russian and West European countries was considered during a meeting with the Europarliament delegation in the Russian Parliament Committee for International and Foreign Economic Relations here today.

The delegation, led by Magdalena Hoff, who is in charge of contacts with the Soviet Union, includes representatives of the Europarliament's five major committees—economic, international relations, political, cultural and agricultural—from nine European countries.

Russian Parliament and Europarliament members exchanged information on the representation of various parties in these legislative bodies. Thirteen parties are represented in the Russian Parliament, Committee Chairman Vladimir Lukin pointed out. All these parties are loosely organised so far and are in the formative stage, he added.

Asked about the future of the Soviet Union, Lukin said that he favours the preservation of the Union but does not know whether this necessity will become a reality.

He believes that revolutionary changes, particularly during a transition period, are fraught with events similar to those taking place in Yugoslavia.

This is particularly dangerous for such a vast country as the USSR, which possesses nuclear weapons, he emphasised.

Western countries have levers of influence on the situation in the USSR, he maintains. "They can have talks, for example, with the Ukraine or with Turkey which, upon recognising the sovereignty of Azerbaijan, supplies it with weapons", Lukin said.

Local Affairs

Checheno-Ingushetia Votes for Independent State

LD0212190791 Moscow TASS in English 1733 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznny December 2 TASS—A total of 97.4 per cent of residents of Checheno-Ingushetia said they would like to form an independent state within the Russian Federation in a referendum held in the republic last Sunday [1 December].

Over 92,000 people, which is more than 70 per cent of the republic's adult population, went to polling station on Sunday.

A shoot-out was reported in the settlement of Nazran during the referendum. Several people were wounded.

The final results of the referendum are expected to be announced on Tuesday [3 December].

North Ossetia Fails To Recognize Ingush Vote

OW0212194991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of North Ossetia's Supreme Soviet has not recognized the results of the Ingushes' referendum on November 30, and qualified it as illegal and juridically invalid. The participants in the referendums were asked to answer the following question: "Do you find it necessary to restore the autonomous status of the Ingush people, to establish an Ingush republic, with North-Ossetia's Prigorodnyy district attached to it, and to make the right-bank part of Vladikavkaz its capital?"

In 1944 the Ingushes were banished from this region adjacent to the North Ossetian capital of Vladikavkaz. Now they demand that their neighbours give them back the land which once belonged to them. The North Ossetian authorities oppose the idea, however. Lately, the Ingushes have been threatening to organize a peace march on the Prigorodnyy district of Vladikavkaz.

Chechen Leaders Strengthen National Guard

OW0212221291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1945 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press centre of the president of the Chechen Republic qualified as provocative the telegram by Major-General Kulikov who heads the USSR Interior Troops Department, concerning the possibility of Groznyy's garrisons being attacked by "extremist-minded people." The statement made by the press centre says that "Moscow is contemplating one more action against the republic and is preparing grounds for shifting the entire blame on the Chechen government."

And yet, the Chechen leaders have instructed the national guard to strengthen the garrisons' security.

Moscow City Council Wants Privatization Delay

LD0212223891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Dec 91

[From the "New Wave" program]

[Text] The Moscow City Council Presidium has asked the city's mayor to suspend his order on privatization of trade, consumer services, and public catering enterprises. The mayor's attention was drawn to the need to look into ways for more well defined and extensive public involvement in the process.

Apartment Privatization Begins

LD0212224191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Privatization of municipal housing fund officially started in Moscow today. Mayor Gavriil Popov said yesterday that all Muscovites can now turn their apartments into their private property. The population pays nothing for the acquisition of accommodation. The city authorities intend to introduce later a tax on real estate, the size of which will depend on the size and quality of apartments. Shops, restaurants, and cafes are being privatized in Moscow within the framework of the program for the transfer to a free market. It will be followed by wide-scale privatization of state industrial enterprises.

Belorussia

Foreign Debt Statistic Reported

LD0112011691 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1403 GMT 30 Nov 91

["Domestic Market" feature]

[Text] Belorussia's foreign debt makes up 3.69 percent of the Soviet debt, according to the chairman of the republican state committee for foreign economic relations, Vladimir Radkevich. Chairman of Belorussia's state committee for foreign economic relations also said in an interview with Belorussian radio on November 29 that this figure was endorsed at the meeting of the State Council. The Ukraine disagreed with this figure and thinks Belorussia should pay more, Radkevich noted.

Safeguards Sought Over Chernobyl 'Danger'

PM0212111091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Mikhail Shimanskiy: "Chernobyl Still Dangerous"]

[Text] The Belorussian Supreme Soviet has adopted a resolution on the 11 October 1991 accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station.

The resolution notes that the functioning of the power station represents an enormous danger not only to regions of Belorussia, the Ukraine, and Russia, but to the entire world community.

In order to adopt prompt measures to protect the population in the event of possible accidents at the nuclear power station, the Belorussian Council of Ministers was instructed to coordinate with the governments of Russia, the Ukraine, and Lithuania on immediate notification. One very important point in the document is that interrepublic economic agreements should provide for neighboring republics' (states') full ecological and economic responsibility, with compensation for damage to the republic in the event of an accident at a nuclear power station.

Moldova

Republic To Annul Dnestr, Gagauzia Elections

LD0212235791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1837 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Kishinev, 2 Dec (TASS)—There have been two new presidents in Moldova since this morning. Igor Smirnov and Stepan Topal, to whom the electors of the Dnestr Republic and Gagauzia gave 65.4 and 90 percent of their votes, respectively, have joined Mircea Snegur. During a referendum held in parallel with the elections, a majority of the inhabitants of these republics, which have not been recognized by Moldova, spoke in favor of independence within the Union of Sovereign States.

The position of the Moldovan leadership to what has happened is unchanged. "The elections and referendum on the left bank and in the areas densely populated by the Gagauz have complicated the situation and have provoked discontent among the indigenous population toward the the hundreds of thousands of Russians, Ukrainians, and people of other nationalities on the right bank of the Dnestr," Viktor Pushkash, deputy chairman of the Moldovan parliament, told the TASS correspondent. "The results of the elections undoubtedly will be annulled since they were inspired by imperialist forces in Moscow. Proof of this is the constant attention they are paid by the central mass media."

There is, however, another side to the coin. Local politicians believe that in holding the elections and the referendum, the leaders of the Gagauz and the Dnestr Republic residents have done quite a good service to their ideological opponents, the Popular Front of Moldova. Standing in opposition to the leadership, this movement is trying to force Mircea Snegur, the current president, to resign for being in favor of an independent Moldova and against its forced union with Romania. The failure of the Gagauz and the residents of the Dnestr republic to take part in the republic's forthcoming presidential elections on 8 December may complicate the path of the only candidate, Mircea Snegur, toward the presidential throne.

In the event of his failure, it is most likely that forces will come to power in Moldova that are in favor of immediate unification with Romania. One piece of evidence of this is the "National Council of Reunification," which was set up on 1 December in Kishinev, the members of which are 28 parliamentarians of Moldova and 37 from Romania. It is not accidental that at the rally of the Popular Front of Moldova, held that same day, it was announced "that the present moment is extremely favorable for unification and it would be unforgivable to miss it." From all this one cannot fail to draw the conclusion that the situation in Moldova has become more acute. How will it develop further? The results of the elections for the president of Moldova will provide an answer to that question to a certain extent. At any rate, many are hoping that after receiving a mandate of trust from the people, Mircea Snegur will cease to look around at the conflicting parties and movements, will speed up the economic reform, and will achieve the interethnic concord so necessary at the present time.

Talks With Dnestr Left Bank Fail

OW0212163991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1445 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "All our attempts to negotiate with spokesmen of the Dnestr's left bank have resulted in failure", Moldova's Premier Valeriu Muravsky said in Kishinev on Saturday [30 November] speaking before workers of the republic's agricultural-industrial complex.

He explained that the separatist leaders agree on many points and then act differently.

"Our good-will has a limit", he declared and warned that proper measures should be taken against persons of any nationality breaking the law.

Statement Issued on Moves To Divide Republic

LD0212151891 Moscow TASS in English 1417 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By MOLDOVA-PRESS correspondent]

[Text] Kishinev December 2 TASS—The advocates of the preservation of the Soviet empire have increased their activity of late. Contrary to the natural course of history, they hinder the process of national revival and the attainment of genuine independence by republics, including Moldova. Such is the opinion of the Moldovan parliament Presidium.

The Presidium's statement circulated here points out in particular that those forces count on dividing the republic and are busy feigning violations of the rights of the Russian-speaking population and provoking inter-ethnic conflicts.

Those activities are viewed in the statement as gross interference in the internal affairs of the independent state and as an attempt at encroaching on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the republic.

The Moldovan parliament Presidium believes that Moscow-based news organisations have taken up a prejudiced attitude towards the republic.

President Reiterates Independence Policy

LD3011182591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1551 GMT 30 Nov 91

[By correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev, 30 Nov (TASS)—"Our policy remains unchanged. It is a policy of independence, which is supported by an absolute majority of the republic's population." This was stated by Moldovan President Mircea Snegur today when he addressed a republic conference of leaders of executive committees at various levels.

There can be no question of the republic joining any other state, he said. The republic's leadership, Mircea Snegur stressed, "will do its utmost to ensure that peace and civic accord triumph in Moldova, our common home, and that the rights of man and national minorities are observed there."

Opposition Rally Urges Merger With Romania

LD0112234791 Moscow TASS in English 1956 GMT 1 Dec 91

[By correspondent Vladimir Demidetskiy]

[Text] Kishinev December 1 TASS—Moldovan People's Front and the alliance of parties and movements "16th of December" on Sunday [1 December] rallied in the republic's capital of Kishinev to mark the 73rd anniversary of the "unification of all Romanian lands" in 1918.

Front speakers urged an immediate integration of Moldova with Romania and said nothing will keep Moldova in the Soviet Union after the Ukraine proclaims state independence.

Front leader Mircea Druc, former Moldovan prime minister, expressed hope Moldova will integrate with Romania either next July or August. He said Romania will pay Moldova's portion of the Soviet Union's foreign debt.

Druc also said Romania and the Ukraine should restore the border that existed between them in 1940.

The rally criticised Moldovan President Mircea Snegur, who is the only candidate for the post of the republican president to be elected next week.

Speakers Call For Unification

AU0112181491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1628 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 1/12/1991—On Sunday, December 1 the Grand National Assembly Square in Chisinau [Kishinev] hosted a great meeting organised by the People's Front in Moldova to mark the anniversary of 73 years since the historic act of the union of all Romanian territories. More than 15,000 people attended that meeting among whom were representatives of political parties and personalities of the cultural life in Romania.

Iurie Rosca, leader of the People's Front of Moldova, emphasised in his address that December 1 should represent for all genuine Romanians in the Republic of Moldova the beginning of regaining their true independence "which cannot be real but by the definitive union with the motherland."

Mircea Druc, former prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, stressed in his turn that "for a real independence and an economic recovery of Bessarabia it is necessary that the act of its union with Romania be accomplished as soon as possible."

On behalf of the guests from Romania addresses were made by poet Ion Alexandru, deputy in Romania's Parliament, and by independent deputy Claudiu Iordache.

The declaration of the People's Front of Moldova was read during the meeting and it was announced the setting up of the "Union National Council" (by parliamentarians in Romania and in the Republic of Moldova) which begins its activity today, December 1, 1991.

The people in the Chisinau square chanted "we want the union with the country."

Council for Romanian Reunification Established

AU0212200291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1835 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev], ROMPRES, 2/12/1991—The National Union Council set up these days by parliamentarians from Romania and the Republic of Moldova aims at contributing to speeding up the historic process of Romania's reunification. The Romanian unitary state was founded on December 1, 1918.

The National Union Council is open to the citizens in Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina, the Herta Land and Romania and to the political and apolitical groups that understand to fight for the aspirations after national reunification. The National Union Council will work in keeping with the laws protecting national interests in Chisinau [Kishinev], Cernauti [Chernovtsy], Ismail and Bucharest.

Security Minister Warns of Disturbances

OW0212135591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldova's Minister of National Security Anatoliy Plugaru thinks that "the republic is on the verge of grave disturbances." In his opinion, the main destabilizing factor is the activity by "the separatists of the Dnestr and Gagauz republics and the position taken by the Moldovan People's Front."

Speaking on the national radio Saturday [30 November], he said the arms in the hands of the Dnestr units come from the military in the USSR's other regions and some other places.

The minister stated the Moldovan leadership is taking all measures to avoid conflicts or resolve them peacefully.

Replying to listeners' questions he denied rumours on participation by the Bolgrad airborne division in the events in Vulkanestiy where the Gagauz set fire to the police station.

He pledged that "his ministry will not do any spying in the classical sense, except economic intelligence".

A. Plugaru confirmed that over 100 of the republic's former KGB staff have resigned.

Prime Minister on Gold Reserves Announcement

OW2811181591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1532 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldova's Prime Minister Valeriu Muravski believes that the center's announcement that the gold reserves of the former USSR make up 240 tons is a lie to say the least. If the present central structures persist in their attempts to conceal real data on the country's gold and diamond reserves as well as the republics' quotas for the payment of foreign debt, his government will request Moldova's parliament to refrain from endorsing the memorandum on solidary responsibility, he pointed out.

Ukraine

Preliminary Referendum Data Reported

LD0212212491 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1422 GMT 2 Dec 91

["Politics" feature]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] According to preliminary data voters of most regions in Ukraine cast their ballots for republican sovereignty and Leonid Kravchuk as president of the republic. The republican committee referendum and the Ukrainian republican information center revealed preliminary results of the referendum by 8 p.m. December 2:

Act of sovereignty was supported:

in the Crimea—by 52 of voters,
in Chernovitsy region—by 92.78,
in Dnepropetrovsk region—by 85,
in Zakarpatye—by 83,
in Kiev region—by 95,
in Kharkov region—by 93,
in Lugansk region—by 70,
in Donetsk region—by over 80.

Preliminary results of presidential elections:

Chernovitsy region: 43.6 of voters cast their ballots—for Leonid Kravchuk, for Vladimir Grinyev—1.42, for Levko Lukyanenko—4.34, for Leopold Taburyansky—0.42, for Vyacheslav Chornovil—42.7, for Igor Yukhnovsky—1.97.

Poltava region: over 70 of voters supported Leonid Kravchuk.

Zhitomir region: over 60 of voters supported Leonid Kravchuk.

Donetsk region: over 60 of voters supported Leonid Kravchuk.

Dnepropetrovsk region: 65 of voters supported Leonid Kravchuk, 9.6 voted for Grinyev, 28—for Lukyanenko, 1.3—for Taburyanski, 7.9—for Chornovil, 1.3—for Yukhnovsky.

Odessa region: 36 of voters supported Leonid Kravchuk.

Kharkov region: 54 of voters supported Leonid Kravchuk, 27—voted for Chornovil.

According to preliminary data on December 1 about 90 of voters in Lvov region supported Ukrainian sovereignty. According to preliminary data 77 of voters also cast their ballots for Vyacheslav Chornovil as president of the Ukraine. According to preliminary results 81 of voters in Lugansk supported Ukrainian sovereignty December 1. The total number of those participating in the election in Lugansk accounted for 75 of the electorate. Officials of the regional election committee told PF [POSTFACTUM] that the results revealed by district committees were similar to those obtained at the regional center. About 60 of constituents voted for Leonid Kravchuk as president of the Ukraine, about 12—for Vyacheslav Chornovil. Lugansk region is in the extreme east of the Ukraine, 51.9 of its population are Ukrainians, 45—are Russians. Out of 1,160 Moscow citizens of Ukrainian descent 1,136 spoke for Ukrainian sovereignty. This was revealed by a poll taken December 1 in Moscow by the Ukrainian cultural society Slavutich.

Electoral Chairman on Results

LD0212161191

[Editorial Report] Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian at 1200 GMT on 2 December broadcasts a 105-minute recording of a news conference in the Central Electoral Commission in Kiev to discuss the preliminary results of the referendum on the independence of Ukraine and the presidential elections. Mr. Boyko, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, answered journalists' questions.

The recording begins with a journalist asking: "Can you confirm reports that more than 60 percent and up to 70 percent of the population voted for Kravchuk?"

Boyko replies: "According to information in possession of the Central Electoral Commission, more than 50 percent of electors voted for Kravchuk. As far as reports about 60 percent voting for Kravchuk are concerned—and these figures have already been announced on the TV and radio—this cannot yet be confirmed as more reports are expected from district electoral commissions."

Another journalist asks: "Do you have information about some regions of Ukraine that did not approve Ukraine's independence?"

Boyko replies: "There is no information that would indicate that certain oblasts did not support independence. The majority in all oblasts confirmed the Act of Proclaiming Ukraine's independence."

A journalist then asks: "How many electors are there in the republic of the Crimea?"

Boyko replies: "As matters stood at 2000 on 1 December, the total number of citizens entered in the lists for voting was 37,655,155. Ballot papers were received by 31,509,623 citizens. In the Crimean Autonomous Republic, 1,514,858 citizens were entered in the list for voting, and 1,007,654 received the voting papers."

Another journalist then asks: "What were the violations registered by the Central Election Commission?"

Boyko replies: "According to the commission's information, individual violations took place and they consisted in the fact that some persons were trying to also receive voting papers for members of their families, and this was registered by representatives of public organizations and observers. Such attempts were prevented."

Boyko is then asked: "According to certain reports, more than 77 percent of citizens voted for the independence of Ukraine, apart from Sevastopol, the Crimea, and Lugansk oblast?" He replies:

"There is no information available as regards Lugansk election district. A session of the regional electoral commission will take place there at around 1500. As far as the republic of the Crimea and Sevastopol are concerned, I mentioned these figures: 54.19 percent said yes in the republic of Crimea, and in the city of Sevastopol 67.07 percent said yes."

Referendum Not 'Smooth' in Crimea

LD0212133291 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] We continue telling you about the all-Ukrainian referendum on the Ukraine's independence and presidential elections in this republic:

The situation in the Crimea, a peninsula in the southern part of the republic, was not as smooth as in the Ukraine's capital. I would like to point out the following peculiarities: Those who are interested in positive results and also those who come out against the Ukraine's independence, both were calling upon the residents of the Crimea to take part in the referendum. The so-called People's Opposition, which united a number of public and political organizations working for the Crimea's separation from the rest of the Ukraine [words indistinct] its activities on the eve of the referendum and the presidential elections. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets have been distributed on the peninsula. Large quantities of leaflets have been delivered from Moscow and Munich where the headquarters of the People's Labor Union of Russian Solidarists are located. Of course, representatives of the People's Movement, Rukh, and other public and political organizations were not (?feeling idle). So many residents of the Crimea, first and foremost Russians who make up the majority on the

peninsula, that is about two-thirds of the entire population, found themselves facing an uneasy task of making the right choice.

As far as Ukrainians, the Crimean Tatars, and other nations populating the Crimea [are concerned], they see their future only within the composition of independent Ukraine.

Kravchuk Speaks on Results, Defense Policy

OW0212170691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1445 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet Leonid Kravchuk who has been elected the republic's president by preliminary results of the presidential election Dec 1 has announced that all its regions have supported the act of independence in the simultaneously held referendum. During his meeting with foreign observers L. Kravchuk particularly noted that independence was also upheld by more than half the vote in the Crimea. "The Ukraine's destiny has been decided," he stressed.

He said the republic will join all the international organisations.

On defence policy Leonid Kravchuk favoured the principle of collective security. He spoke out for scrapping the strategic and tactical nuclear weapons. "Pending that, we are against moving them from one place to another and for their collective control". The body controlling nuclear weapons, in his opinion, should include four states possessing them: Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Byelarus [Belorussia]. They are to be collectively responsible for a possible use of nuclear arms. "The Ukraine will not insist on access to the nuclear button," he conceded.

The Ukraine will give Russia priority as partner and hopes for its reciprocal approach, he said.

Leonid Kravchuk opposed dissolving the present Ukrainian parliament which, he said, "is quite capable of adopting a new constitution. No need of yet another election before the economy is stabilized".

On Crimea, Russia

LD0212233691

[Editorial Report] Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian at 1707 GMT on 2 December carries a 5-minute report on Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk meting foreign observers who were present at voting stations yesterday.

The referendum results leave no doubt about the Ukrainian people's desire to form an independent state. Nearly 28 million voters out of the 31.5 millions who received ballot papers voted for the independent Ukraine. In Ternopol and Ivano-Frankovsk the figure is 98 percent and in Donetsk, Sumy, and Odessa it is 80 percent. There is no region where people voted against independence. The smallest number of voters took part in the referendum in Sevastopol with 58 percent altogether.

One of the foreign observers asked Kravchuk whether he would allow the holding of a local Crimean referendum with the aim of finally establishing the desire of the Crimean population to either be with the Ukraine or with Russia. Kravchuk answered: "The interpretation of our law on the referendum is not quite precise here. In accordance with the law, the counting is done not from the total number of voters but from those who came to vote. I know about countries with a traditional democracy, as they say. There as a whole there doesn't even exist such a rule that a half of the electorate should come to the elections. As many come as want to come, and nobody has any misgivings about this, but more than half of the electorate came to vote in the Crimea. Of the people who came, more than half voted for independence. So, this question does not entail any problems there." Kravchuk continued: "The latest statements made by Boris Yeltsin, when he said that the problem of the Crimea is a problem for Ukraine and not for Russia, as well as our position confirming this in purely legal and constitutional terms, means that the Crimea has all the conditions and grounds to get down to tackling their own problems in accordance with the constitution. I think after that, any broad discussion around the issue where the Crimea should be will stop. We will help the Crimea to solve the problems existing there."

All observers stressed that the election was held in a democratic way and corresponds to the highest world standards. Kravchuk focused on the issue of recognition by foreign countries and said: "I think that European countries, after the referendum, certainly and after summarizing its results officially—these are only the preliminary ones and that is understandable—will recognize Ukraine as a state, and the process that should take place in such cases will start. We will certainly insist that Ukraine becomes a member of all European organizations, including the financial ones, and I hope they will show understanding."

Answering the question about future relations with Russia, Kravchuk said: "Understanding the importance of relations with Russia not only for our problems but also for problems of Europe and, I think, of the whole world, we will pursue a priority policy as regards Russia. We will, however, insist that Russia should pursue precisely that kind of policy of equal rights and partnership where there would be no larger and smaller ones or older and younger. As far as the second question of parliamentary elections is concerned, I think that we have to pass a law on new elections with the help of this parliament and only after that we can speak about new elections. I think this parliament is capable, and I think it will be even more capable especially after the referendum to adopt a draft constitution and publish it for

the nation-wide discussion. We cannot involve the Ukrainian people in a new round of elections now without solving the problems of stabilizing the economy—we will then ruin everything that is still not completely ruined. The issue of nuclear weaponry is a topical issue for the world and Kravchuk said in this connection: "Ukraine will be for destroying both strategic and tactical nuclear weapons; however, this should so far be taking place in the process of negotiations. Before it has been destroyed, we will come out against moving it from one place to another and will stand for collective control. Ukraine will only insist on control over what is happening on its land but, it will not demand, say, the nuclear button. We will have control through the collective body which will manage these nuclear forces. We can not adopt a point of view for creating several nuclear states on the territory of the former Union. That would entail political and not only political problems for the entire world.

The correspondent who attended the meeting concluded the story by saying: "The meeting was coming to the end when the leader of the Secretariat appeared and reported something that those present awaited in excitement and for a long time. Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk was elected the president of Ukraine. He received 60 percent of the votes. True, these are the preliminary results received mainly on the telephone. The official results, however, will appear in the very near future."

Kravchuk thanked all those present and asked them to pass their assessments on to governments of their countries and expressed hope that those assessments will be a good ground for establishing quick and good contacts between the state of Ukraine and the states represented by those present.

On New Elections, Nuclear Weapons

LD0212221591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2006 GMT 2 Dec 91

["Information and Analysis" feature by correspondent Leonid Milyarskiy from Kiev]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Answering questions from numerous correspondents, the newly elected president of the reborn Ukrainian state gave greater details on certain aspects of his political course. Leonid Kravchuk confirmed his negative attitude to the Novo-Ogarevo attempts, and reported his wish to meet with leaders of Russia, Belorussia, and other former Soviet republics in the near future to propose to them the creation of a community on different principles. Obviously it is a matter of a model of the European Community, about the acceptability of which Leonid Makarovich often spoke before.

Leonid Kravchuk considers that it is not expedient to hold new elections to the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet now, in conditions of economic chaos. In any event they can be held only after the adoption of a new constitution for the republic and a new electoral law.

As for nuclear weapons, both strategic and tactical, the Ukrainian president favors the complete destruction of them on the territory of Ukraine after talks with all interested states. Until that time, the four nuclear republics—the Ukraine, Russia, Belorussia, and Kazakhstan—in his view, should form a collective body that would take under its control [kontrol] all the nuclear weapons on the territory of the former USSR.

Comments on Yeltsin Remarks

PM0312110991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 91 p 1

[Correspondent O. Musafirova report under the general heading "Swelling the Ranks of Presidents"]

[Excerpts] Kiev—[passage omitted] Leonid Kravchuk gave an impromptu news conference at the polling place.

[Question] When were you last in touch with Gorbachev?

[Kravchuk] I spoke with Mikhail Sergeyevich by phone recently when President Mutalibov of Azerbaijan came to Kiev. We signed a political treaty. Gorbachev said that if the Ukraine were to become independent, it would be a catastrophe and he would take every measure to prevent that. But what measures can be taken with regard to the people?

There will be no catastrophe. The Ukraine is rich in potential, people, and land, its economy and science have not been completely destroyed, we will be able to live.

[Question] Yeltsin also made a similar statement to Gorbachev...

[Kravchuk] Yeltsin said that he cannot conceive of a Union without the Ukraine and in that event he would not sign the Union treaty either. I think that the concept of the "union" should be clarified. If the Union is that which is planned in the draft treaty, that is one thing. But if we are talking about unions in general, then for the Ukraine and Russia and the Ukraine and Belorussia it already exists. We intend to have, support, and strengthen interstate unions, giving priority to Russia.

But personally, I am offended. Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] came to Kiev as a democrat and was welcomed here by crowds of people carrying slogans. Now, however, his stance is very undemocratic. It does not become him to repeat Gorbachev's words about "measures."

[Question] Do you not think that the Ukraine will be a stumbling block on the road to friendly relations between the United States and the USSR, bearing in mind the diametrically opposed comments on it by the two states' presidents?

[Kravchuk] I think that it will all be resolved. I am confident that democratic Russia and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin will be bound to recognize the Ukraine

as an independent state. And the doubts of the governments of the United States, Canada, France, and other states will disappear.

[Question] Nevertheless, you believe that in the future it will be possible to avoid conflicts with Russia?

[Kravchuk] Yes. Russia's democrats will never want to go down in history again as creators of a new empire...[end of Kravchuk's comments] [passage omitted]

Commentary Cites Kravchuk on Future Plans

LD0212205191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Vitaliy Gurov commentary]

[Excerpts] Leonid Kravchuk has been elected president of the Ukraine. This has been announced in that republic's capital, Kiev, after the preliminary results of Sunday's [1 December] elections had been summed up. Our commentator Vitaliy Gurov notes that what happened had in fact been forecast by observers and was in the air, but had no real legal ground to rest on. [passage omitted]

However, the question [on independence] was formulated so that it implied an interpretation that was far from being unequivocal: For one thing, even those who favor independence within the Union had to vote along with those who are against the Ukraine's further participation in any union.

So at his first news conference in the new capacity of president, Leonid Kravchuk called the Ukraine free.

In an interview with the Vienna newspaper PRESSE shortly before the elections, Kravchuk remarked that his republic was unwilling to take part in any political alliance within the framework of the former USSR, whose aim is to set up the structure of a central government. We could participate in a political union as well as an economic community, but only if this does not affect our state interests, Leonid Kravchuk stressed.

As other independent states, which on entering a political alliance, carry out the understandings reached within its framework, Kravchuk went on to say, we could act in the same way, but not at our sovereignty's expense.

Leonid Kravchuk emphasized that the Ukraine had become an independent state after an independent referendum. This means that independence rests on the will of the people. In Kravchuk's view, President Gorbachev's efforts to recreate the political union of the former republics will hardly succeed.

For his part, Leonid Kravchuk noted that even as soon as Friday [29 November] he (?was going) to visit Belarus' [Belorussia] capital, Minsk, to offer its leadership to set up an economic community of a type that differs from the one earlier proposed by Moscow. It would more likely be similar to the EEC, but there wouldn't be any single state with (?its) rights. The best venue for its headquarters, Kravchuk believes, could be Kiev or Minsk, rather than Moscow.

Answering journalists' questions, Leonid Kravchuk stressed that the Ukraine and independence meant one thing—the republic breaks away from the USSR. Leonid Kravchuk described the armed forces problem as one of the central issues to be settled in the future; however, even this problem is tractable.

The Ukrainian president spoke in favor of creating republican armed forces. He also recognized a need to divide the strategic forces. In Leonid Kravchuk's opinion, there is nothing more important for the Ukraine today than to secure the recognition of its independence by Russia. After this, Western countries will follow suit. Russia will recognize the Ukraine's independence, Leonid Kravchuk declared, and voiced full confidence in Boris Yeltsin's stand.

U.S. Announcement on Recognition Reported

LD0212203791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1826 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By correspondent Andrey Fedyashin]

[Text] Washington, 2 Dec (TASS)—The White House announced today that the United States "is moving in the direction of full diplomatic recognition" of the Ukraine in the light of the outcome of the referendum held in the republic, but that it "will still be some time before we are ready to make a final decision on recognition."

In a statement issued here today, the White House at the same time indicated that "while these relations are developing, we intend also to continue our cooperation with President Gorbachev and his government and to strengthen our expanding contacts with President Yeltsin and the Russian Government, and also with the other republics."

"We realise," the statement continues, "that independence raises a number of complex issues which have to be settled between Russia, the Ukraine, and the center. The establishment of new relations of cooperation between Russia and the Ukraine, based on openness and mutual respect, will be a test of their ability to complete the transition to democratic societies in which human rights are respected. We hope and believe that the leaders in Moscow and Kiev will establish such relations."

Independence Implications for UN, U.S. Viewed

PM0212150591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 91 Union Edition p 3

[A. Shalnev report: "Diplomatic Relations With United States Have Not Yet Been Established, But Ukrainian Mission at United Nations Is Getting Ready To Divide Soviet Property Abroad"]

[Text] New York—The fact that the Washington administration has decided to recognize the Ukraine's independence and deemed it necessary to declare its intention before the 1 December referendum is a direct result of an unusually powerful campaign mounted by Americans of Ukrainian origin, who know full well how important their votes will be to George Bush at the presidential elections next year.

There are relatively few actual Ukrainians in the United States—in the region of 2 million if you are talking about the ones who have the right to vote. But, as THE NEW YORK TIMES observes, they represent not just themselves but also a very large number of voters of East European extraction in general. The White House and the ruling Republican Party were shown a clear picture of the influence of this stratum at the recent midterm elections in Pennsylvania: the Republican candidate, Richard Thornberg, former attorney general and a very close friend of George Bush, lost, partially because the Ukrainians and other East Europeans voted in support of his rival, Harris Wofford.

What was the reason for this? The sluggishness displayed by President Bush on the question of recognizing the independence of the Baltic republics.

I am not at all inclined to believe that pressure on the part of the American Ukrainians was the main factor that forced Bush to change his previous position and start moving away from President Gorbachev. But this pressure was no doubt one of the key factors. It is noteworthy that the first people to find out that Bush had finally made up his mind were the leaders of the American Ukrainian community. The President received them in the White House on 27 November, the day after he had heard the arguments of his advisers—and in particular that of Brent Scowcroft, the President's national security adviser, and Defense Secretary Richard Cheney—and decisively reoriented his stance toward recognition of the Ukraine.

As is now becoming clear, the memorandum prepared for Bush by his closest advisers on the eve of the recent meeting with Gorbachev in Madrid recommended that the U.S. President proceed on the assumption that this "summit" with the Soviet president would in all probability be the last one.

The decision to recognize the Ukraine's independence does not mean that it will automatically be recognized following the 1 December referendum. Before actually doing this, the White House will insist on the fulfillment of a number of conditions linked notably with the nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory, the ensuring of ethnic minority rights, and border problems. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has already given certain assurances on this score both to the White House and to Congress. But they are evidently insufficient, as can be judged, for example, from the very abrupt tone of a NEW YORK TIMES editorial which demanded insistently that the White House not be too quick to recognize the Ukraine—not until it "really rids itself of its past."

It is quite obvious, however, that the establishment of diplomatic relations is not far off. In the office of Gennadiy Udovenko, the Ukraine's permanent representative to the United Nations, hangs the huge plan of a building in which it is being proposed that the Ukrainians open their embassy in Washington, in what is known as "Embassy Row" in Massachusetts Avenue. The issue of where the new permanent representation to the United Nations should be located is also being actively discussed. One floor in the building in which the Soviet and Belorussian missions are also located at the moment is not enough for the Ukrainians. The options being examined include renting a house which a certain American-Ukrainian millionaire will make available for the symbolic sum of $1 a year.

There are other options: Gennadiy Udovenko says straight out that, for example, 25 percent of all Soviet property abroad, and therefore in New York, must belong to the Ukraine. So that means that the Soviet mission can be squeezed into at least one floor fewer than it has now. Ahead lies the inauguration by the Ukraine's representatives of their own agency [referentura]; that is, that institution found in every diplomatic mission where secret correspondence is encoded, transmitted, received, and decoded. At the moment, the Ukrainian diplomats are using the services of the Soviet agency.

Other signs of the times include: Ukrainian diplomats at the United Nations have started speaking at various committee sessions and at General Assembly plenary sessions in English, although traditionally this used to be done in Russian. Ukrainian is not considered a working language at the United Nations. However, diplomats deny that they have any instructions from Kiev to the effect that it is time to abandon Russian and switch to English. At the same time, they admit that they have experienced pressure from American Ukrainians who have expressed dissatisfaction at the fact that Ukrainian diplomats were speaking Russian at the United Nations.

Canadian Government Recognizes Independence

LD0212220191 Moscow TASS in English 2150 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By correspondent Valentin Vasilets]

[Text] Ottawa December 2 TASS—Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney on Monday [2 December] said his government decided to recognise the Ukraine as independent state.

He said Canada will soon begin talks to establish diplomatic relations with the Ukraine.

Ottawa will also press the Ukraine for guarantees concerning its nuclear arsenal and its international commitments on disarmament and the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act.

Polish Government Recognizes Independence

LD0212173691 Moscow TASS in English 1645 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Warsaw December 2 TASS—The Polish Government on Monday [2 December] recognised the independence of the Ukraine proclaimed after the referendum held in the republic last Sunday [1 December] and is ready to establish diplomatic relations with this republic, Polish governmental spokesman Andzzej Zarembski said.

He said Poland considers the independent Ukraine as a partner and will develop bilateral ties with this republic.

The Polish Government expressed confidence the Ukraine's independence will help boost cooperation between Poland and the Ukraine.

Foreign Commission Chief on Independence

LD0212202891 Berlin Deutschlandsender-Kultur Network in German 1705 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Interview via telephone with Serhiy Holovatyy, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Ukrainian parliament, by correspondent Horst Grothe, on 2 December—recorded; Holovatyy speaks in Russian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Grothe] Mr. Holovatyy, is Ukrainian independence the last word?

[Holovatyy] This is the last word after a long and lamentable period of rule by a colonial state. This is Ukraine's last and final word as a Moscow dependent territory, and since 1 December it has become the first word of a new state in Europe.

[Grothe] Mr. Gorbachev said that it would be a catastrophe if Ukraine were to go its own way.

[Holovatyy] Such words, or rather such scaremongering about other states, recently have become a tradition for Gorbachev. I believe that it would be much more of a catastrophe for the whole world if the imperial center were to be preserved, which is what Gorbachev's efforts are directed toward. On the contrary, an independent Ukraine exerts a favorable influence on the political climate in Europe and the rest of the world.

[Grothe] Can you no longer conceive of any kind of internal relations with the Soviet Union?

[Holovatyy] These links with other former Soviet republics will certainly exist, but they will take on a different quality; they will be relations between the Ukraine and new states, new states such as Russia, Lithuania, Georgia, and so on, all of these states constituting equal partners in such relationships. The relations will be of a bilateral and multilateral nature, based on international treaties.

[Grothe] Some republics already have signed the Union treaty; does this mean that this treaty has become invalid already?

[Holovatyy] This treaty has certain consequences for those who signed it, but the Ukraine did not sign it, and for that reason it does not apply to the Ukraine.

[Grothe] [Words indistinct] What do you plan so as to implement your independence?

[Holovatyy] We will see the commencement of diplomatic activity and Ukrainian initiatives on security matters and guarantees for security in Europe, particularly in terms of nuclear weapons. There also will be economic reforms carried out by the Ukraine as an independent state.

[Grothe] Will you then retain nuclear weapons?

[Holovatyy] The Ukraine wants to become a nuclear weapon-free state and to rid itself of nuclear weapons. It has made declarations to this effect more than once, and I believe that shortly we will be restating our willingness to eliminate nuclear weapons, but the Ukraine will expect words on this issue from Western states that have a say in the matter.

[Grothe] Does this means that you are handing over your nuclear weapons to Mr. Yeltsin?

[Holovatyy] No. We will not be handing over the nuclear weapons to anybody. The nuclear weapons located on the territory of the Ukraine must be destroyed.

[Grothe] What are your expectations concerning the United States and Europe?

[Holovatyy] We expect prompt recognition; and political, technical, and financial aid; along with assistance in the elimination of nuclear weapons in our area, and of course of all other nuclear weapons as well.

[Grothe] Many people are saying that Ukraine's decision means the final end of the Soviet Union. How do you see this issue?

[Holovatyy] I, too, believe that 1 December 1991 is the date we can say marked the end of the Soviet Union.

[Grothe] There are also voices saying that Mr. Kravchuk formerly occupied a high position, and today is doing the same. What do you think?

[Holovatyy] Mr. Kravchuk probably will be elected president of the Ukraine now, and he intends to take the Ukraine down its own road: a united Ukraine, fully independent, both economically and politically.

[Grothe] How will the economic system of the Ukraine look? Will anything of socialism remain?

[Holovatyy] Well, that will be decided by parliament on the initiative of the new government, which is led by Kravchuk.

Bomb Found in Kiev Synagogue

LD0312101391 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] As reported to a correspondent from the reliable sources, a powerful explosive device was detected on the morning of 1 December inside the building of the Kiev synagogue on Shchykalytska Street. It consisted of two 130-mm HE [high explosive] fragmentation shells and two grenades. Only thanks to a lucky break and the vigilance of Zhydovetskyy, a guard at the synagogue, an explosion did not take place. The guard did not pull the toilet door as the criminals expected—they attached the detonator set of one of the grenades to the door—he only opened it slightly by pulling it toward himself. After noticing the explosives, he raised the alarm. A criminal case has been initiated by the Kiev directorate of the National Security Service of the Ukraine on this matter and an investigation group is at work.

Armenia

Poland Sends Congratulations on New Independence

NC2911085191 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Congratulatory cable sent by Janusz Ziolkowski, state secretary of the Republic of Poland, to President Levon Ter-Petrosyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 27 Nov (ARMENPRES)—Esteemed President, on behalf of Lech Walesa, president of the Republic of Poland, I have the honor to convey heartfelt congratulations on the result of the referendum held recently in Armenia.

The complete victory of the idea of independence in Armenia has generated a feeling of deep respect among the Polish people. The Polish Republic defends Armenia's right to independence.

Our people, which has for centuries struggled for that same precious idea, fully shares the happiness of the Armenian people on the occasion of this important event in its history.

The Polish Republic believes that Armenia will find its place in the international community.

We hope that even closer ties will be established between our countries.

Please accept the president's and my deepest respects.

[Signed] Respectfully, Janusz Ziolkowski, state secretary of the Republic of Poland

France's Mitterrand Congratulates President

NC2911212591 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Cable sent by French President Francois Mitterrand to President Levon Ter-Petrosyan]

[Text] Mr. President, I received your letter of 26 September 1991 addressed to me and express my thanks for it.

Following our meeting last spring, I carefully followed the 21 September referendum and the course of your election on 16 October to the post of president of Armenia. I want to congratulate you on that occasion.

Regarding your request for the recognition of Armenia's independence, you are aware that this is a delicate issue. We still must hear the final constitutional (?status) of the Union and its former republics.

Nevertheless, I want to reassure you that we give enormous importance to the outcome of the 21 September referendum, which expresses your people's legal aspirations.

I hope that the cooperation between our two countries will develop productively as we agreed during your visit to Paris.

Mr. President, rest assured of my deepest respect and best [word indistinct].

President Says Azerbaijan Talks 'To Resume'

PM0212132391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[TASS report under the general heading: "Presidents' Statements"]

[Text] **Levon Ter-Petrosyan**

The only way to resolve the conflict is through negotiations—according to Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, this is the conclusion of the USSR State Council session. As is well known, it discussed the situation in the Transcaucasus with the participation of the top leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The Armenian president reported at the end of the session that the decisions adopted by the State Council accord with the spirit of the Zheleznovodsk accords—primarily the rescinding of all decisions on Nagorno-Karabakh by the two republics' legislative organs and the restoration of constitutional order in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. It has been decided to resume within a week the interrupted talks between plenipotentiary delegations from the two republics, which are being held with the assistance of observers from the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan. In addition, the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan will meet in Zheleznovodsk before the end of the year to discuss progress in fulfilling these decisions, L. Ter-Petrosyan emphasized.

'Apparent Start' of Train Traffic Noted

LD0212214491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 2000 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and on the Azerbaijani-Armenian border is unchanged. There are still no telephone links between Armenia and Stepanakert. There has been relative calm, however, over the last few days. Stepanakert was fired on again in the early hours of 2 December, and one person died. The Armenian villages of Khramort, Khnatsakh, and Askeran were also hit. The latest decision of the town soviet has once again lit a ray of hope here. People now live in waiting for concrete actions from the authorities of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Among the encouraging factors is the apparent start of train traffic to Armenia. Four trains arrived today, some carrying fuel.

Azerbaijan

National Council Passes Border Protection Law

NC0212122391 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 1 Dec 91

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The Azerbaijani National Council met on 29 November and examined the decisions adopted by the USSR State Council in Moscow on the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. Deputy (Kasimov) has told INTERFAX that the National Council in its first meeting passed a law on the Azerbaijani Republic state border. Henceforth, Azerbaijan's entire border has a state status and will be guarded by the Azerbaijani border guard troops.

Shooting Near Stepanakert; 1 Armenian Killed

OW0312011491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "INTERFAX" has learned that on the morning of December 2nd shooting took place between Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the city of Kirkizhan outside Stepanakert. One Armenian was killed. In the Azerbaijani part of the city some houses were burned.

Both Armenians and Azerbaijani live in the city of Kirkizhan.

Village 'Badly Hit'; Shusha Skirmishes Noted

LD0212184691 Moscow TASS in English 1718 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Asildar Guseinov]

[Text] Baku December 2 TASS—According to the Azerbaijani Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Nagorno-Karabakh village of Kyarkidzharkhan was badly hit early this morning. One local resident was killed, five were wounded and 15 homes were destroyed.

Skirmishing also touched police posts near the city of Shusha. Two police officers were wounded.

Iranian Foreign Minister, Delegation Arrive

NC0312090691 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0430 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Continuing his visit to the Soviet Muslim republics, [Iranian] Foreign Minister Velayati and his accompanying delegation departed from the Republic of Tajikistan and arrived in Baku, capital of Soviet Azerbaijan. Velayati was received at the airport in Baku by Deputy Prime Minister Firuz Mustafayev and Foreign Minister Guseynaga Sadykhov.

According to our correspondent, Foreign Minister Velayati held talks with Rakhman Nabiyev in Dushanbe, capital of Soviet Tajikistan, on the newly elected president of Tajikistan's first day in office.

During this meeting, the Tajik president welcomed the Iranian delegation and said: Today is historic for me as it is my first day in office as president and I am meeting my Iranian friends. He stressed broadening bilateral ties in the course of the talks.

Velayati and Tajik Prime Minister Hayayev signed a memorandum of understanding, on the basis of which Iran and Tajikistan will set up a joint bank, a joint investment company, and an air route, collaborate in television productions, and exchange students.

According to this report, Velayati and his accompanying delegation joined the congregation in Dushanbe's central mosque where people were shouting Islamic slogans and expressing their feelings for the Iranian delegation. Velayati conveyed greetings to the republic's Muslims from leader of the revolution Khamene'i.

Meets With Mutalibov

LD0312133291 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1030 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Foreign Minster Velayati met last night with Ayaz Mutalibov, president of Soviet Azerbaijan. At this meeting the two parties stressed the expansion of cooperation and bilateral relations.

Mr. Velayati and the delegation acompanying him in his round of visits to the Soviet republics arrived in Soviet Azerbaijan's capital city of Baku last night. He visited the Islamic Republic of Iran's exhibition in that city this morning and spoke to the organizers. The foreign minister then attended a ceremony at Baku University in honor of the famous Iranian poet Nezami-Ganjavi. In a speech he described the esteemed personality of that Iranian poet.

Mr. Velayati and his accompanying delegation attended congregational prayers at the new mosque in the old city of Baku today.

Georgia

Procurator General Released From Duties

LD2411152391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 24 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Georgian Procurator General (Vakhtang Raznadze) was released from his present duties. Citing reliable sources, the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY reported that the dismissal followed the procurator's refusal to sanction the arrest of opposition leaders. There is an alleged list of those out of favor, which lists 28 people. It was drawn up personally by republican President Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

New Procurator General Named

AU2711140691 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 22 Nov 91 p 1

[Presidential decree on the appointment of V.B. Abakeliya as procurator general of Georgia issued in Tbilisi on 21 November]

[Text] To appoint Vazha Boris Dze Abakeliya as procurator general of the Republic of Georgia.
[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia
Tbilisi, 21 November 1991

Military Assets, Soviet Armed Forces Protected

LD0212213491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By Georgian National News Agency and TASS correspondent Eduard Ediberidze]

[Text] Tbilisi, Dec 2 (TASS)—Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia today gave assurances that everything is being done to seek out and punish the armed bandits who attacked a Soviet Army unit in Tbilisi. During the night of 26-27 November, Major Vladimir Berilov was killed, and 10 special-purpose vehicles were stolen.

The Georgian Interior Ministry press center issued a statement on this, which says: There is no doubt that there are certain political forces, both inside and outside Georgia, that are provoking conflict between servicemen and the civilian population to destabilize the republic's situation. These forces have become especially active now, when all property of the Soviet Army, border troops, and navy located on Georgian territory has been declared republic property. The press center's statement says that nobody is entitled to infringe upon this property with the aim of seizing it. It emphasizes that any such attempt, and attacks on members of the Soviet Armed Forces, will be deemed criminal acts and will be punished with full severity of the law.

Gamsakhurdia Says No Surrender of Land

OW0112132291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2044 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia said that the Georgian people would not surrender a single inch of their land.

Speaking about the situation in South Ossetia at a meeting in Gory on November 28, he said that if need be, all the Georgians would rise in defence of their homeland's territorial integrity.

Touching upon the current economic problems, Mr. Gamsakhurdia said that they were quite natural. "The Russian cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg are facing many more problems, while the cost of living is much higher in them," he said.

'Rebellious Guards' Side With Government

OW2911141191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1100 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 25 to 27, 80 guards who had earlier been under Tenghiz Kitovani's command, took the side of the government's armed formations. Vakhtang Kobalia, Chief of Georgia's National Guards Department, told IF [INTERFAX]. He said that, having received arms, the 80 guards set out to Samachablo (the Georgian name of South Ossetia—IF) to defend the Georgian villages from the USSR interior troops and Ossetian militants.

The part of the national guard, led by Tenghiz Kitovani, refused to take orders from the Georgian president following his decision to attach the guards to the Georgian Interior Ministry—a decision taken during the August putsch. Subsequently, during the manifestations of the Georgian opposition last September, Kitovani's guards actually took its side. At the moment, the "rebellious guards," whose strength is unknown, remain on their base on the shores of the Tbilisi water reservoir, near Tbilisi.

Parliament Debates Illegal Armed Formations

LD3011100791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1300 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] After a three-day break, the Georgian parliament resumed discussing the issue of illegal armed formations in the republic today. This concerns, primarily, the role of the National Guard which, headed by commander Tengiz Kitovani, refused to subordinate itself to the Georgian president three months ago and joined the opposition. The talks held earlier with deputies laid down foundations for incorporating the rebel guards into official structures.

Military Official Discusses Internal Troops

AU2911093091 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 12 Nov 91 p 1, 3

[Interview with Vano Chelidze, chief of the Main Administration of the Internal Troops of Georgia, by SAKINFORM correspondent Meri Gabriadze; place and date not given: "The Internal Troops of Georgia: Patriotism and Duty"]

[Text] As is well known, the Republic of Georgia Internal Troops were created recently. In connection with this, SAKINFORM corespondent Meri Gabriadze spoke to Mr. Vano Chelidze, chief of the Main Administration of the Internal Troops of Georgia.

[Gabriadze] Now that Georgia already has its internal troops, what fate awaits the so-called subunits of USSR internal troops currently located on the republic's territory?

[Chelidze] On the basis of the decree of the president of the so-called Soviet Union and minister of foreign affairs of the former USSR, the subunits of USSR internal troops located on the territory of the Republic of Georgia will leave its territory by 1 July 1992 and will be withdrawn to other former republics of the USSR. I would like at this point to inform you of one piece of good news: A few days ago, one of the subunits of Georgian Internal Troops took over one of the military territories of the USSR internal troops.

[Gabriadze] How are the Republic of Georgia Internal Troops going to be brought up to full strength and where are their subunits and units going to be located?

[Chelidze] Georgia's Internal Troops will be brought up to strength on a legal basis using military specialists, people with a higher education, whose speciality is necessary for these troops and, of course, conscripts. In addition, so-called extended service men, those who have already completed their military service, will be invited to join the internal troops. Regarding the location of the internal troops in the republic, we have agreed not to broach this subject yet.

[Gabriadze] What will be the purpose of the Republic of Georgia Internal Troops?

[Chelidze] These troops will be used to maintain internal order in the Republic of Georgia. One should understand this to mean maintaining order in public places and putting a halt to mass disorders and other criminal activities. In addition, they will be entrusted with specific tasks connected with guarding specially designated installations in Georgia.

[Gabriadze] What rights will the extended service men have and what kind of material security will they receive?

[Chelidze] Their material security will correspond more or less to the level of material security provided for junior officers. The size of their salary has not been finalized yet, but it will amount to no less than 600-700 rubles. They will perform guard duty once every three days while leisure time and activities connected with their specializations will be fitted into the remaining days. As a rule, they will be clothed and fed free of charge.

[Gabriadze] What kind of uniform will servicemen in our republic's internal troops have?

[Chelidze] The uniform is being designed to conform more or less to international standards, but it will be fashioned in a Georgian way.

[Gabriadze] How will the call-up of officers, extended service men, and conscripts to the Republic of Georgia Internal Troops be organized?

[Chelidze] The selection and call-up of young men to the internal troops will, for the time being, be carried out at military sectors attached to the prefectures of the towns and rayons of Georgia.

I would like to ask all officers in the reserve living in Georgia to come to us at the Main Administration of the Internal Troops in order to receive detailed information.

Junior officer personnel will be brought up to full strength from:

—graduates of military schools;
—officers in the reserve who have graduated from departments of military science in higher educational institutes. According to the situation, they may be called up for military service for a period of two years and can, if they so wish, extend their military service;
—officers in the reserve who have served in the ranks of the Soviet Army for 20 or 25 years. These officers may be accepted for military service by agreement for 3-5 years.

The following maximum age limit has been fixed for officer service:

lieutenant—40 years;
senior lieutenant and captain—45 years;
senior captain and major—50 years;
colonel—55 years;
brigade general, division general—60 years.

Proceeding from the interests of the cause, the maximum age limit can be raised by five years in the transitional period; that is to say during the first stage of bringing the internal troops up to full strength.

Senior officers in the reserve can do their service without restoration of their military rank as civilian employees, advisers, or consultants.

Officers and extended service men in the Republic of Georgia Internal Troops enjoy all the rights of citizens of the Republic of Georgia. They will be provided with clothing, monetary remuneration, apartments in their place of service, a pension, etc.

Service in the Soviet Army by officers in the reserve will be counted as a period of general military and general civilian service.

[Gabriadze] Mr. Vano, are there no plans to introduce any innovations in the organization of military service?

[Chelidze] There will be many innovations. At present, we are working on the question of organizing free courses to prepare interested enlisted personnel in military units for entry into higher educational establishments. We are planning to introduce foreign language study groups in all units.

If, for some reason, a soldier has not completed his secondary education prior to call-up he will be granted the right to finish his studies at an evening school taking into account the location of the military unit.

[Gabriadze] To whom will the Republic of Georgia Internal Troops be subordinate?

[Chelidze] The Republic of Georgia Internal Troops will be subordinate to the chief of the Main Administration, the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the prime minister and president of the Republic of Georgia.

I would like to state that service in the Republic of Georgia Internal Troops should become the national duty of all Georgian patriots and call-up should proceed only on the basis of willingness and selection.

[Gabriadze] Mr. Vano, what will be the national composition of the republic's internal troops?

[Chelidze] Conscripts of all nationalities will be called up for service in the Republic of Georgia Internal Troops; they will be selected by conscription boards in the republic's rayons and towns.

[Gabriadze] One other thing. What about the protection of the democratic rights and status of servicemen in the Republic of Georgia Internal Troops?

[Chelidze] The status of servicemen is determined according to general principles of democracy, humanism, and social justice and also according to the tasks of the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces.

The status of servicemen is granted to citizens on the day of their call-up for military service and they forfeit it after they have been released from service whereupon they regain all the rights and duties accorded to citizens.

In accordance with the Georgian Constitution and the constitutions of the autonomous republics, servicemen have the right to participate in elections and be elected to state organs.

The status of servicemen voted into elective offices until the expiry of their period of service is determined by the legislative acts of these organs.

Servicemen have no right to belong to any political party, organization, society, or mass movement and to participate in meetings and strikes.

Servicemen are guaranteed the right of freedom of conscience and the right to profess any religious. The practicing of religious rites is voluntary, is not prohibited, and is to take place in a serviceman's free time.

Servicemen are provided with health care in the form of a free medical service, treatment in sanatoria and health resorts, and constant medical checks that are to be conducted by medical establishments attached to military units.

The state takes servicemen under its protection. Persons who insult servicemen, offer resistance to them, endanger their lives through threats or violence, or who commit other acts against them are subject to liability in accordance with the republic's legislation.

Servicemen called up for compulsory military service enjoy the rights and freedoms of citizens of the Republic of Georgia only with certain restrictions that are determined by the particular nature of military service.

Officers Warned Against 'Confrontation'

PM0212155791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Colonel V. Kaushanskiy report under the "Around the Country" rubric: "Find and Punish the Killers"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Tbilisi garrison troops bid farewell 29 November to their comrade in arms, Major Vladimir Nikolayevich Berilov, brutally murdered by armed bandits in front of his wife and child. Colonel General V. Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, came to the district Officers' Club along with members of the district Military Council, a group of opposition representatives headed by G. Shengelaya, the families of officers and warrant officers, and Tbilisi people. The funeral cortege stretching along Rustaveli Avenue stopped for a few minutes outside Government House, where a routine Georgian Supreme Soviet session was starting work. The coffin, carried throughout this sad procession by the dead man's colleagues, was placed in a hearse for the journey to the airport. The dead man will be given military honors in his home of Krasnodar.

Republic President Z. Gamsakhurdia expressed his condolences to the dead officer's family in a telephone conversation with the commander and assured the district leadership that all steps would be taken to immediately hunt down and punish the criminals. Speaking at a meeting of Transcaucasus Military District generals and staff officers, R. Gventsadze, Georgian first deputy minister of internal affairs, pointed out that the republic's state security department, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and military prosecutor's office have set up an operations and investigation group whose task is to capture the killers forthwith. "We are working day and night," he told the gathering. V. Gvaramiya, Georgian first deputy general prosecutor, described the tragedy on the troop unit's territory as a vile provocation designed to set the Army against the republic's population.

It must be said that some garrison officers' passions are threatening to get out of control in response to what happened. In this situation the district troop commander stressed particularly at the conference: "Some officers think troops should be put on the streets to 'flex their muscles.' While sharing servicemen's righteous feelings of indignation and wrath, I cannot at the same time allow us to be overwhelmed by emotion and lose our sense of reality. Legally such actions are criminal, and politically they are absurd and adventurist, since they will only increase the confrontation between the Army and the republic's population."

There is no end to the provocative actions against troops on Georgian territory. Major I. Mosin, senior officer

from the Transcaucasus Military District armament service, said that a group of unknown people tried to infiltrate a munitions dump at 2315 hours 28 November in the region of Ozurgeti city. When the raiders came near to the building, the guard called a reserve group by firing his signal pistol. The intruders were forced to jump into their vehicle and get away, but en route they lost control of the vehicle and ended up in a ditch. The bandits were picked up by a passing "Niva." The abandoned vehicle containing the guards log [putevoy list] was taken to the troop unit. Again on the same day in Khashuri city armed gunmen seized a military vehicle going to pick up children from a school. In the city center they seized four "Urals" and a "Kamaz" belonging to the military. Unidentified persons blockaded military transport around the village of Gomi.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Reaffirms View on Nuclear Forces

PM2711162391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Nov 91 p 1

[PRAVDA-TASS report under the general heading "Newsbeat"]

[Text] Kazakh President N. Nazarbayev has reaffirmed his view that nuclear forces should be under the control of all members of the new Union. N. Nazarbayev was forced to make this statement by press reports of his "desire to draw nuclear weapons into the Islamic world."

Further on Nazarbayev's Presidential Election

Commission Reports Outcome

LD0212132891 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1050 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] According to a Central Electoral Commission report a news conference was held today at which commission chairman Kapar Bukenov announced that more than 88 percent of the electorate took part in elections. Nearly 99 percent of Kazakhstan voters voted for Nursultan Nazarbayev. On 1 December, the republican presidential election took place not only on the territory of Kazakhstan but also in Moscow, where 1,018 Kazakhs who are studying, working, or living there participated in the voting, of whom 1,010 voted for, 7 against, and 1 vote was considered void.

Voting in the republic passed calmly and in an organized manner.

Now in Kazakhstan for the first time in its history the people have elected their own president.

Today, a news conference was held with the participation of Nursultan Nazarbayev, the first republic president elected by the people of Kazakhstan.

Nazarbayev on 'Vote of Confidence'

PM0212202691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 91 Union Edition p 1

[Correspondent V. Ardayev report: "Nazarbayev Gets 98.8 Percent of the Vote"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—"A nationwide vote of confidence" is how N. Nazarbayev has described the results of the Kazakhstan presidential election held on 1 December.

The preliminary results of voting are as follows: A total of 88.2 percent of citizens recorded on the electoral rolls took part in the election: 98.8 percent of them voted for N. Nazarbayev, a result he had not expected himself, as he acknowledged to journalists. The final results will be known on 5 December after the session of the republic Central Electoral Commission, but most likely they will change little.

"I have received a nationwide vote of confidence from the citizens of Kazakhstan of all nationalities, classes, and social groups," Nazarbayev told the news conference held on 2 December. "This is primarily a vote for resolute action to overcome the grave crisis in which Kazakhstan, along with the whole country, finds itself. A newspaper once wrote that Nazarbayev likes to play with the black pieces. It is now time, I think, to play with the white..."

The nub of the presidential program the candidate detailed to the electorate during the campaign amounts to a package of anticrisis measures that are sometimes radical in nature. According to Nazarbayev, a number of decrees aimed at providing social protection for the population will follow literally within days. After that, and before December is out, real steps to enter the market economy will be taken. This will require reforms in the echelons of power, and not just cadre redeployment—thus a draft law strengthening executive power during the transitional period will be submitted to the next session of the republic Supreme Soviet, which opens 10 December. The president intends, in particular, to ask parliament for the right to establish the posts of administrators appointed by him in the oblasts, essentially authorized representatives of the president at local level.

Answering questions about the uncontested nature of the election, Nazarbayev said that he had come to the conclusion that an uncontested election was a boon to Kazakhstan today, primarily because most political parties and social movements in the republic to date have come about on national grounds, whereas interethnic unity and concord are paramount now. As president of a republic unique in terms of the number of its nationalities, he regards the strengthening of such unity as a highly important task.

Broaching the topic of the republic's priorities in the international arena, the Kazakhstan president noted special interest in developing contacts with the countries of the East, while stressing at the same time that they nevertheless should be counterbalanced by ties with the West. He also reported that the republic leadership has sent a request to all countries that purchase Kazakhstan natural resources that they switch all payments in settlement for this raw material to the account of the republic Vneshekonombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity]. The reason is simple: The former center no longer exists in the country.

N. Nazarbayev confirmed his stance on the Union Treaty, noting that the creation of a Union of Sovereign States is a reality of the day. A Union of Sovereign States with a common political area in which collaboration is carried out on strategic questions such as common defense, transport, communications, and so forth is really essential. Reciprocal economic settlements with all the remaining republics which have not signed the political treaty should be carried out at world prices.

The newly elected president of Kazahkstan confirmed his readiness to continue carrying out, along with Russia, a mediating mission in the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict if the opposing sides express such a desire.

Further on Remarks

LD0212133891 Moscow TASS in English 1324 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Alma-Ata December 2 TASS—Nursultan Nazarbayev was elected president of Kazakhstan on Sunday [1 December], according to preliminary results announced today by the election commission at a press conference here.

98.76 per cent of voters in the first ever general presidential election in Kazakhstan voted in favour of Nazarbayev, and only 1.24 voted against.

The commission said no incidents or violations of order were reported during the election.

Nazarbayev's programme envisages a fast transition of Kazakhstan to a market economy. The president intends to adopt a number of radical measures to promote both economic reforms and social protection to ease the hardships of the transition period.

The Kazakh president plans to take advantage of the popular trust he enjoyed at the election. It is time to play white, he told the press conference using chess vocabulary. It was earlier claimed by mass media that he preferred to play black.

Playing white, according to Nazarbayev, means enforcing production discipline and fighting crime. He did not explain the way he would implement the slogan which had been heard by Soviet peoples for decades. The latest most vigorous drive for discipline took place under the late Soviet leader Yuriy Andropov who ordered the police to check people's documents in all public places to find out whether they are absent from their workplace.

Nazarbayev said he will work to consolidate the new union on a confederative basis.

He said Kazakhstan can become a middleman in promoting East-West commercial ties. A major conference of foreign business people, to take place in Alma-Ata next January, will help the republic to establish direct links with the world community.

Nazarbayev believes the reforms will be a success because they are supported by the people.

Asanbayev Becomes Vice President

LD0212231991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Dec 91

[From the "New Wave" program]

[Text] Nursultan Nazarbayev won the mandate to be the first nationally elected president of Kazakhstan. At the same time, Yerik Asanbayev became vice-president. He was nominated, as such, by Nazarbayev himself.

Bolsheviks Oppose Presidency

PM2911131991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Report from TASS-RIA-ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA column under the "News" rubric: "Bolsheviks Don't Want Nazarbayev"]

[Text] In connection with the 1 December Kazakh presidential elections, the organizational committee of the Kazakhstan organization of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks has issued a statement, published yesterday in the republic's KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA. It says that "Kazakhstan's Bolsheviks consider the course of restoring capitalism pursued by Nursultan Nazarbayev as counterrevolutionary and designed to break up the USSR, to transform the republic into a supplier of raw materials for international imperialism, and to divide society into the poor and multimillionaires." The Bolsheviks urge citizens of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic to demand that the presidency be abolished and that parliament repeal all antisocialist laws and decrees.

'Mutual Understanding' Accord Signed With Iran

PM0212160591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Colonel A. Ladin report: "Memorandum Signed"]

[Text] Kazakh Prime Minister S.A. Tereshchenko and Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati signed a memorandum of mutual understanding between the two states in Alma-Ata. S.A. Tereshchenko said at a news conference that during the talks they discussed questions of cooperation between the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and Iran, in particular the completion of a railroad that will give Kazakhstan an outlet on the Persian Gulf and Iran an outlet on the Pacific [as published]. Mutual understanding was reached, the Kazakh prime minster said, on questions of expanding trade, setting up telephone and telecommunications lines, opening up direct air links between the capitals of the two states, exchanging students, and setting up enterprises to process wool, leather, and other agricultural raw materials. It is planned to open consulates in Alma-Ata and Tehran in 1992.